United Nations S/PV.4623

Security Council

Fifty-seventh year

Provisional

4623rd meeting

Friday, 11 October 2002, 10.25 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Belinga-Eboutou	(Cameroon)
Members:	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Doutriaux
	Guinea	Mr. Traoré
	Ireland	Mr. Corr
	Mauritius	Mr. Koonjul
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Singapore	Ms. Lee
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Mekdad
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Broucher
	United States of America	Mr. Williamson

Agenda

Small arms

Report of the Secretary-General (S/2002/1053).

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

02-63418 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.25 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Small arms

Report of the Secretary-General (S/2002/1053)

The President (*spoke in French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Argentina, Australia, Canada, Chile, the Congo, Costa Rica, Croatia, Denmark, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Israel, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Malawi, Namibia, Nigeria, the Philippines, the Republic of Korea, Senegal, South Africa, Switzerland, Ukraine and Zambia, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Cappagli (Argentina), Mr. Tesch (Australia), Mr. Westdal (Canada), Mr. Maquieira (Chile), Mr. Ikouebe (Congo), Mr. Stagno (Costa Rica), Mr. Šimonović (Croatia), Ms. Løj (Denmark), Mr. Aboul Gheit (Egypt), Mr. Nambiar (India), Mr. Thayeb (Indonesia), Mr. Lancry (Israel), Mr. Neil (Jamaica), Ms. Inoguchi (Japan), Mr. Ligabo (Kenya), Mr. Lamba (Malawi), Mr. Andjaba (Namibia), Mr. Mbanefo (Nigeria), Mr. Manalo (Philippines), Mr. Lee Ho-jin (Republic of Korea), Mr. Fall (Senegal), Mr. Kumalo (South Africa), Mr. Staehelin (Switzerland), Mr. Kuchinsky (Ukraine) and Mr. Musambachime (Zambia) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*spoke in French*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Jayantha Dhanapala, Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs.

It is so decided.

I invite Mr. Dhanapala to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members have before them the report of the Secretary-General on small arms, document S/2002/1053.

I now call on Mr. Jayantha Dhanapala, Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, to introduce the report.

Mr. Dhanapala: It gives me great pleasure to address the Security Council today at this open debate, to introduce the report of the Secretary-General on small arms, document S/2002/1053. The importance of the Security Council's consideration of the question of small arms cannot be overstated, for these have been the weapons of choice in most recent conflicts, particularly those under Security Council consideration. The illicit sale and excessive stockpiling of such weapons pose complex and multifaceted challenges to international peace and stability. Failure of the world community to rise to these challenges would jeopardize many of the most fundamental goals of the Charter, in particular those relating to security, humanitarian affairs and development.

While it is true that small arms per se do not provoke conflicts, it is also undeniable that the unrestrained supply of such weapons renders conflicts much more protracted and deadly, and promotes a culture of violence and impunity. There is growing evidence of close links between illicit small arms and light weapons and both terrorism and drug trafficking. The latest estimates of human casualties resulting from the misuse of small arms are staggering: at least 300,000 deaths every year are caused by armed conflicts in the developing world; 200,000 deaths are linked to homicide and suicide in the industrialized world; while millions more suffer non-fatal injuries and crippling disabilities.

There are other costs, however, that are difficult to quantify. As we have witnessed over the past decade, civil conflicts have caused the economic and social devastation of many societies. Even in non-conflict situations where small arms proliferate, human security

stands threatened to a degree that compromises public safety and social stability.

Over the last few years, the United Nations has played a critical role in placing the issue of small arms and light weapons on the international agenda, initiating the preparatory process for the July 2001 Small Arms Conference, which adopted the Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects. The Security Council has contributed significantly to this effort by addressing the small arms issue in situations under its consideration, and by promoting global efforts to combat illicit small arms and light weapons, within the framework provided by the Programme of Action.

The report of the Secretary-General provides a brief overview of the Council's initiatives regarding small arms and light weapons in situations under its consideration. Rather than giving an exhaustive description of all actions, the report outlines the latest developments and presents 12 recommendations that are considered to be relevant to expand and consolidate the work of the Security Council in this area. The recommendations cover the following main topics: implementation of the Programme of Action adopted by the United Nations Small Arms Conference, recommendations 1, 2, 3 and 4; Security Council-mandated sanctions and arms embargoes, recommendations 5, 6, 9, 10 and 11; conflict prevention, peace-building and disarmament, demobilization and rehabilitation (DDR), recommendations 7 and 8; and confidence-building measures, recommendation 12.

Three overriding considerations have guided those recommendations: first, the importance of sustained implementation of the Programme of Action adopted unanimously by the Small Arms Conference in July 2001; secondly, the acknowledgement of the distinct mandates of the Security Council and the General Assembly vis-à-vis the small arms issue; and thirdly, the need to take into account the views of Member States on this matter.

Let me now turn to a few key points arising from the Secretary-General's report. Over the last year, Member States have engaged in the implementation of the Programme of Action with great enthusiasm. Initiatives such as national and regional conferences, the design and implementation of national action plans, the establishment and strengthening of national structures, capacity-building in relevant areas and collaboration between Governments and non-governmental organizations, among others, have yielded encouraging results. They have also placed added pressure on the limited resources of the United Nations.

In that regard, the Secretariat intends to establish a small arms advisory service (SAAS) within the Department for Disarmament Affairs, on the basis of extrabudgetary resources. The main purpose of that unit is to enhance the effectiveness of the Coordinating Action on Small Arms (CASA) mechanism and thereby to enhance the United Nations ability to assist Member States in the implementation of the Programme of Action. Operating as a permanent secretariat of CASA, the SAAS will optimize the mechanism's performance as both an inter-agency coordinating body and a service provider to Member States and the general public. I hope that the Council will find it appropriate to offer its political support to that initiative.

The role of arms embargoes in controlling the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in conflict situations under its consideration has been enhanced by the Council's decisions to establish specific monitoring mechanisms. Further improvements in that regard would require the imposition of arms embargoes on countries and regions that are both emerging from and threatened by armed conflict. In addition, it is important for Member States to enforce the implementation of arms embargoes and bring their own relevant legislation into compliance with the Charter. Coercive measures should be considered against those States that deliberately violate arms embargoes decided by the Security Council.

While arms embargoes reduce and prevent arms flows to the targeted regions and entities, they do little to control weapons already existing in conflict areas. For that reason, post-conflict activities such as DDR ought to be carried out as thoroughly as possible, and consideration should be given to restricting the supply of ammunition.

Consistent with the Secretary-General's report on "Strengthening of the United Nations: an agenda for further change" (A/57/387), we have attempted to produce a short, sharp and concise document with realistic and achievable recommendations. In that connection, the views of Member States on ways and

means in which the Council can contribute to dealing with the question of small arms and light weapons in situations under its consideration were not attached to the report. However, the Secretariat will make copies of such documents available to Member States upon request.

I am sure that today's discussion will assist the Council in defining the most appropriate ways to address the various recommendations contained in this report.

The President (*spoke in French*): I wish to inform members of the Council that it is my intention to suspend this meeting at 12.45 p.m. and to resume at 3 p.m.

Mr. Tafrov (Bulgaria) (*spoke in French*): Bulgaria is grateful to you, Mr. President, for having organized this open meeting on small arms and light weapons. We also express appreciation for the document distributed by the Cameroonian presidency before our discussion today, which will allow us to focus on our discussions on the key questions of practical importance for the proceedings of the Security Council. I also wish to thank Mr. Dhanapala, the Under-Secretary-General, for his very clear and specific briefing.

As a country associated with the European Union, Bulgaria fully aligns itself with the statement that will be made by the Permanent Representative of Denmark on behalf of the Union. My country agrees with and supports the main thrust proposed by the European Union aimed at guaranteeing the effectiveness of the work of the Security Council in the area of small arms. I would like to add the following comments in my national capacity.

Bulgaria notes with satisfaction the fact that the United Nations, in particular the Security Council, attaches special attention to problems related to the illicit traffic of small arms and light weapons. My country welcomes and supports the comprehensive efforts of the Secretary-General, whose goal is to overcome this new phenomenon in the area of international security.

As a non-permanent member of the Security Council, Bulgaria attaches special importance to the Secretary-General's report on small arms. The report reflects the initiatives taken recently by the Council and identifies the areas requiring the Council to adopt further measures in order to combat that worldwide scourge.

Taking into consideration the significance of the issue of small arms and light weapons, and in response to the request of the Secretary-General, the Bulgarian authorities have given their viewpoint on the means whereby the Council could contribute to combating the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons. The recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's report reflect to a large extent my country's views.

It should be noted that Bulgaria is participating in actions to combat the illicit traffic in small arms that are being carried out at the European and regional levels. My country supports the collective actions of the European Union on small arms and light weapons. Bulgaria is also playing an active role within the proceedings of Working Table III of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, which deals with security issues.

After the United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, held in July 2001, the Security Council undertook measures, some of which have been innovative, in order to strengthen respect for the weapons embargoes already in force and to prevent access by terrorists and terrorist groups to small arms and light weapons and weapons of mass destruction. Groups of experts and monitoring mechanisms to implement the sanctions play a very useful role in implementing those measures.

As President of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 751 (1992) regarding Somalia, Bulgaria has made its contribution to that process, particularly by establishing a group of experts on Somalia. It should be noted that the groups of experts on Sierra Leone and Liberia have contributed to restoring peace to Sierra Leone. The Monitoring Mechanism on Sanctions against UNITA has also had a very positive effect on the evolution of the situation in Angola. Bulgaria supports and respects the Economic Community of West African States Moratorium on the Importation, Exportation and Manufacture of Small Arms and Light Weapons in West Africa.

Security Council resolution 1390 (2002) was an important step in the process of broadening the scope of mandatory sanctions, including the arms embargo, beyond the territory of Afghanistan, to target individuals and entities linked to Osama bin Laden, to

the Taliban and to Al Qaeda regardless of where they are located.

Another positive development in the work of the Council that should be mentioned is the emphasis put on the importance of measures to consolidate peace in post-conflict situations, such as the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants, including child soldiers. The Security Council has emphasized the usefulness of incorporating in the mandate of United Nations peacekeeping missions measures to consolidate peace where that would be appropriate.

Bulgaria is of the view that the principles and measures contained in the Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, as well as the observations and recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General on small arms (S/2002/1053), provide the basis on which the Security Council, the General Assembly and all Member States must take and implement relevant measures in order to resolve the problem of the illicit trade, stockpiling and spread of small arms and light weapons.

I cannot conclude my statement without underlining the extremely important and useful role of non-governmental organizations in combating the illicit trade in small arms. Bulgaria welcomes their significant contribution and thanks them for the tremendous work that they do both on the ground and within the United Nations and other international organizations.

Mr. Koonjul (Mauritius): Let me first thank Mr. Jayantha Dhanapala, Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, for introducing the report of the Secretary-General (S/2002/1053). I would also like to thank your delegation, Mr. President, and the delegation of Colombia for circulating the orientation papers for this meeting, which we found extremely useful.

Today we are having yet another discussion, following a fresh report from the Secretary-General setting out the serious security, humanitarian and development challenges posed by the proliferation of illicit small arms and light weapons. Last year saw the convening of a United Nations Conference on this important issue, at which a Programme of Action was adopted. Likewise, the Security Council adopted a presidential statement (S/PRST/2001/21) on 31 August of last year which contained several recommendations on ways to combat arms trafficking. In addition, we have had a series of regional and subregional initiatives such as the Bamako Declaration and the moratorium declared by the Economic Community of West African States, all aimed at checking the illicit flow of small arms and light weapons.

Yet we have not seen any substantial reduction in the circulation of illicit small arms and light weapons. If anything, the illicit flow has increased. The current situation in Côte d'Ivoire, for instance, with the sudden appearance of a large number of sophisticated weapons, clearly shows that we have had little success in addressing this scourge.

Today's meeting should therefore aim at identifying concrete and practical ways and means to curb and to eliminate the illicit flow of small arms and light weapons. We need to look beyond the classical approach of simply coming out with another statement which will remain a dead letter.

We thank the Secretary-General for his report on small arms and for the importance that he attaches to this issue. We fully support his 12 recommendations. The statistics presented in the report are very alarming. He says that 40 per cent of the estimated 639 million small arms in the world today are held illegally. Half a million people, mostly women, the elderly and children, fall victim to small and light weapons annually. These are indeed matters of very serious concern.

The problem of illicit flows of small arms and light weapons affects almost every region of the world. However, Africa remains the most severely affected continent, with certain parts, namely the Horn of Africa and the Western African region, being particularly afflicted. Those regions have become the leading destinations for illicit weapons, fuelling conflicts and causing economic decline and political instability, which, in turn, have had serious humanitarian consequences. Small arms and light weapons are also easily finding their way into the hands of bandits and terrorists, who, as we all know, are causing havoc throughout the world.

We should ask ourselves today why the international community has not so far been able to make any serious dent in the illicit flow of small arms and light weapons. Several reasons can be put forward

to explain this situation. I will try to enumerate just a few of them which my delegation considers to be very important.

First, it is our view that there has not been enough concerted and coordinated effort to address the issue in a comprehensive manner. The General Assembly has been doing things on its own, and the Security Council has been pursuing its efforts on its own. There have been several plans at the regional and subregional levels as well. For example, two years ago the countries of the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa launched an initiative to combat the problem of arms trafficking. While we encourage all such initiatives, it is extremely important that there be proper coordination not only at the regional and subregional levels but also at the international level, since the problem can be tackled only if all key players — producers, buyers, dealers and middlemen — cooperate fully. In that respect, the United Nations Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects adopted last year was a major step towards a global approach to fighting the proliferation and trafficking of small arms and light weapons. It is also important that the General Assembly and the Security Council work closely together to ensure proper coordination. We therefore fully support the Secretary-General's recommendation to set up a small arms advisory service to ensure, inter alia, the optimal coordination and harmonization of the United Nations response on this matter.

Secondly, there is very little follow-up or monitoring to ensure that decisions and recommendations are actually being implemented. Apart from those areas which are under arms embargoes and where appropriate monitoring mechanisms exist, the implementation of decisions is very much left to the will and discretion of individuals countries. Hence, in many parts of Africa, especially where there are ongoing conflicts, very little attention is paid to the implementation and follow-up of decisions. Since we all agree that small arms are indeed contributing enormously to fuelling conflicts, it is time for the Council to seriously look into the matter and to set up some kind of system which will help monitor the compliance of Member States with all decisions relating to small arms.

Thirdly, my delegation has always stressed that arms-producing countries should act with utmost responsibility in arms sales transactions. It is important that all sales be made to bona fide dealers and that the end-users are clearly known. It is equally important that weapon manufacturers appropriately mark their weapons to enable easy identification and tracing if required. In that regard, we fully support the Secretary-General's recommendation that the Council should encourage States that have not already done so to establish the necessary legislative and regulatory measures, including the use of authenticated end-user certificates, to ensure effective control over the export and transit of small arms and light weapons. We also support the idea that Member States should enter all details about the transfers of small and light weapons in regional registers and in the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms. It is also important that buyer countries exercise full and effective control over the arms that they buy or possess. It has been documented, for example, that arms which have been declared destroyed by fire in some countries have actually found their way into the hands of rebel groups in other parts of the continent.

Fourthly, we are yet to find an effective way to deal with brokers and middlemen involved in the trade of small arms and light weapons. The greater part of arms sales, both legal and illegal, are made through the intervention of intermediaries and brokers. In the case of illegal arms deals, monitoring mechanisms in respect of arms embargoes time and again point to the same individuals or companies, which continue to operate unaffected. It is not a mere coincidence that the same names have been cited by the panels of experts on Angola, Sierra Leone and Liberia. These same names also appear on the list of those involved in the trade of illegally exploited natural resources. We believe that, as long as actions are not taken against those individuals and those engaged in such activities, the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons will continue and that the weapons will continue to fall into the wrong hands, perpetuating a vicious cycle.

The members of the international community, particularly those with sophisticated intelligence services, must assist the countries directly affected by the illicit trafficking to combat this scourge. Member States must maintain strict national registration of each arms manufacturer, dealer, broker, transporter and financer, even where they are arranging deliveries through third countries, and both buyer and seller must use only registered brokers and dealers.

Fifthly, incomplete or improper disarmament, demobilization and reintegration are another factor that has an important bearing on the illicit flow of small arms and light weapons. A comprehensive programme of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration should aim at achieving full collection and disposal of all arms and light weapons. Before the disposal of these weapons, it is important that they be properly catalogued and that their origins be traced back for reference purposes and, if necessary, for appropriate action against culprits. We must at all costs prevent the sale of such weapons by one former combatant to another. We should encourage weapons buy-back programmes, which have proved quite successful in some parts of Africa.

As of now, this objective is heavily dependent on voluntary funding. In this regard, we appeal for the support and assistance of the donor community. At the same time, we favour the idea of including in the mandate of peacekeeping operations clear provisions regarding the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants, as well as specific measures for collection and disposal of illicit and surplus arms and light weapons. We are also amongst those who believe that disarmament, demobilization and reintegration should not entirely depend upon voluntary contributions from Member States. In this context, we welcome the recommendation made by the Secretary-General in his special report on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo regarding the new approach to funding the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and repatriation or resettlement programme.

Finally, I would like to touch upon the question of arms embargoes and their enforcement. My delegation believes that arms embargoes bring temporary solutions to the problem of small arms and light weapons. The Secretary-General has rightly pointed out in his report that

> "While arms embargoes help to stop arms flows into the targeted countries and to rebel groups, they do not eradicate small arms and light weapons that already exist in areas of conflict". (*S/2002/1053, para. 14*)

These weapons continue to move from one country to another, from one rebel group to another, and the embargoes themselves in some cases have failed to prevent the flow of weapons. While we do recognize their limited success, my delegation does not believe that arms embargoes represent the exclusive solution in stopping and eradicating the flow of small arms and light weapons. The problem needs to be addressed in a more comprehensive and concerted manner at the national, regional and global levels in order to ensure a lasting solution.

Mr. Zhang Yishan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): At the outset, I should like to thank you, Sir, for organizing this meeting. I am also grateful to the Secretary-General for his report. I further wish to thank Under-Secretary-General Dhanapala for his detailed introduction.

In recent years, the excessive accumulation and illicit trade in small arms have exacerbated conflicts in many countries and regions, impeded smooth post-conflict reconstruction and fuelled criminal activities, including terrorism and drug trafficking. They have also given rise to many humanitarian problems. The problem of small arms has, moreover, seriously affected United Nations peacekeeping and peace-building operations in post-conflict regions.

As a result, the international community has taken concrete actions in various aspects of the issue. Last year, the United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects adopted the Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects. In less than two years, the international community drafted and adopted the Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Their Parts and Components and Ammunition, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. These are all very important measures taken by the United Nations in this regard. We are pleased to see that, at present, the Group of Governmental Experts is undertaking a further study on the marking and tracing of small arms. We hope that its efforts will achieve positive results.

In recent years, the question of small arms has become increasingly related to the work of the Security Council. The Council's work on disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes in post-conflict areas and on the protection of civilians, women and children in armed conflict all involve this issue. In 1999 and 2001, the Security Council held open debates on small arms, the outcomes of which were very

encouraging. We believe that, as the process evolves further, appropriate solutions will be found to the excessive accumulation and illicit trade in small arms.

China agrees that the Security Council should continue, within its purview, to focus attention on the problem of small arms. We believe that, in addressing this question, the Security Council needs to focus on the following questions.

First, the Council's work on small arms is an important contribution and complement to global efforts in this regard. The Security Council is not duplicating the work of others, much less substituting its work for that of other relevant agencies. Secondly, weapons collection and disposal measures taken during peacekeeping operations or post-conflict peace-building must be in strict accordance with the Security Council's mandates. It is also necessary that agreements and arrangements voluntarily undertaken by parties to a conflict be respected. Thirdly, the Security Council should support the efforts of all countries and regions and encourage the relevant United Nations agencies to be involved in the implementation of its disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes.

The Secretary-General's report contains some important observations regarding the ways and means of addressing the issue of small arms. These include the strengthening of exchanges with the General Assembly so as to promote the formulation of long-term strategies; the establishment of a small arms advisory service; and the provision of adequate resources for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes. All these recommendations are very good points of reference for the Security Council's further consideration of this issue.

Of course, some issues merit further study and discussion. For instance, the first recommendation refers to the development of an international instrument to enable States to identify and trace, in a timely and reliable manner, illicit small arms and light weapons. This question was actually discussed at last year's United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, at which there was no consensus on the matter. At the moment, the United Nations Group of Governmental Experts on Small Arms is carrying out a feasibility study on the development of such an instrument. The measures to be taken by the Security Council in this regard need to be considered after the Group of Experts completes its work and must be based on the Group's final report.

With regard to recommendation 9, as pointed out in the presidential statement adopted by the Security Council in 2001 (S/PRST/2001/21), in addition to weapon-exporting countries, all other countries also have a responsibility to take measures to prevent the flow of legal arms into illegal channels. We hope that such a consensus can be reflected in a more comprehensive and balanced manner.

With regard to recommendation 12, we believe that the feasibility of transparency in armaments is closely related to both the global and the regional security situations. The countries concerned should base their decisions on the political, military and security situations in which they find themselves in implementing — either voluntarily or on the basis of consultations — transparency measures in conformity with the actual situations and their needs.

The causes and manifestations of the world's armed conflicts vary. The Security Council should therefore bear that in mind in deciding to impose or strengthen an arms embargo or to incorporate the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration dimension into the mandate of a peacekeeping operation.

China has always attached great importance to the regulation and control of the production of, and trade in, small arms. At present we are seriously implementing the measures contained in the Programme of Action. We are also actively studying the possibility of signing the Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Their Parts and Components and Ammunition. Along with all the members of the Council, the Chinese delegation is prepared to make an effort to try to solve the problem of the illicit trafficking in small arms.

Mr. Valdivieso (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): We would like to thank the Secretary-General for his report to the Security Council under this agenda item. We would also like to convey our special gratitude for the useful presentation made by Mr. Dhanapala, the Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs.

I would like to begin my statement by unequivocally stating Colombia's commitment to address this issue at the multilateral level. Since the

1980s Colombia, together with various friendly countries, has been a co-sponsor of General Assembly resolutions on this subject, including the first one submitted on this subject. More recently, we presided over the United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, which was held in July 2001. As a member of the Security Council, Colombia has had an ongoing interest in ensuring that this body fully assume its responsibilities and makes a real difference in how it deals with issues pertaining to small arms and light weapons arising in the situations under its consideration. The report of the Secretary-General under consideration at this meeting was submitted pursuant to the Council's request contained in the presidential statement adopted on 31 August 2001 under Colombia's presidency (S/PRST/2001/21).

Colombia has been particularly affected by the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons. This is perhaps our primary motivation in tirelessly alerting the international community to the harmful effects of the uncontrolled proliferation of, and illicit trade in, small arms and light weapons. We must also not ignore the negative impact of this issue on the peace, security and socio-economic development of many countries and regions.

While today's open debate is important to the consideration of this problem, we believe that it is not enough. We have the responsibility of ensuring that the Security Council makes progress in its consideration of this item and that it does not merely limit itself to general discussions without clear goals. We also have the responsibility to add value, to find a new way of contributing and to make progress beyond what has already been achieved. In short, we must avoid covering old ground. Our proposal has been, and continues to be, to focus discussions such as this one and to define goals. Our aim should be to find a way to have a real and positive impact on the situations under the Council's consideration that are deeply affected by the illicit traffic in small arms and light weapons.

In keeping with what has been agreed, and with the consent of all the members of the Council, Colombia has drafted a working document that will be made public and issued as an official document of the Council. In that document we suggest to the Council that it consider the recommendations of the Secretary-General on small arms and that, in so doing, it focus its efforts on a specific topic while not ignoring the importance of other issues and elements such as the ones mentioned by the ambassador of Mauritius regarding a comprehensive treatment of this item.

Our proposal is to strengthen the implementation of arms embargoes on the basis of the lessons learned from the past, in particular so as to produce effective results. In achieving that goal, we have at our disposal a wealth of inputs that merit careful consideration. The general and specific recommendations of the monitoring groups and panels of experts established by the Council also deserve our attention and very careful consideration. In this regard, I would like to refer to the sanctions regimes referred to as targeted sanctions, which are aimed at specific actors, including the Taliban, the Al Qaeda group and Osama bin Laden and his associates, as well as conflict situations such as those in Angola, Sierra Leone, Liberia and, most recently, Somalia. This is an area in which the Security Council can, and should, define a comprehensive strategy and political vision that inspires its actions with regard to current situations and future risks. We want to draw the Council's attention to this matter because we are aware of the lack of effective results in the implementation of those sanctions. We therefore believe that careful analysis of past experiences and a new approach might serve to achieve the objective that the Council has set for itself in the establishment of arms embargoes.

We have received with interest the draft presidential statement that the President has circulated among members of the Council. We trust that the text will incorporate the relevant changes stemming from the statements made by the participants in this debate, including those we have just put forward.

Mr. Aguilar Zinser (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): Mexico welcomes the decision by the President of the Security Council to include this public debate on the subject of small arms and light weapons in the programme for October.

My Government is particularly attentive to this problem. We believe that the accumulation of small arms and light weapons worldwide has reached such proportions that it constitutes a challenge that the international community must face in a much firmer, more resolute and better coordinated manner.

According to the most recent estimates in the 2002 *Small Arms Survey*, worldwide there has been an increase in the number of small arms and light weapons

to about 640 million units. This increase has not been curbed by the implementation of the measures contained in the Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, adopted at the United Nations Small Arms Conference in July 2001.

The proliferation of such weapons is even more evident in areas of conflict. Yet, when used in all of our countries to commit ordinary crimes, as well as by those responsible for organized crime and terrorist attacks, small arms and light weapons confer strategic power.

Some wars are also being waged today primarily with small arms and light weapons, although they are no less devastating, bloody and destructive for that. In its various peacekeeping operations, especially those in Africa, the United Nations has been introducing, with increasing resolve, a disarmament component aimed at collecting and destroying small arms and light weapons that, in the hands of irregular armed groups, represent a threat to the stability and security of countries emerging from conflict or going through a peace-building stage.

On several occasions, however, the efforts of the United Nations, have been isolated or have been thwarted. The responsibility for facing up to the illicit trade in and production of small arms and light weapons is incumbent upon all States, not just those that are the recipients of such weapons. Indeed, those that have the greatest responsibility are the producer and exporter countries. We should demand greater accountability, involvement and commitment from them in the implementation of measures adopted by our Organization with a view to curbing such weapons.

In this context, Mexico supports national, regional and international efforts aimed at regulating the illicit trade in and production of small arms and light weapons, preventing their excessive accumulation and combating illicit trafficking in such arms. To that end, Mexico has promoted and is a party to the Inter-American Convention Against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Ammunitions, Explosives and Other Related Materials, adopted by the Organization of American States in 1997. For the period 2000-2002, Mexico held the position of Secretary pro tempore of the Consultative Committee established pursuant to that regional instrument.

Mexico also actively participated in the development of the United Nations Programme of Action to which I referred earlier, as well as in the preparation of the Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Their Parts and Components and Ammunition, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime.

The Security Council must also be much more resolute in its efforts. In 1999, the Council incorporated the subject of small arms and light weapons into its programme of work. Starting in 2001, Colombia has focused on the issue, taking initiatives that strengthen the Council's capacity to take action. The report submitted by the Secretary-General in this respect is the product of the work carried out by Council members — work for which Colombia provided a strong impetus. Likewise, the presidential statement issued as document S/PRST/1999/28 stressed the responsibility of that body in the maintenance of international peace and security in relation to threats to stability caused by such weapons in various fields, including disarmament, human rights, public health, international humanitarian law and democratic stability.

The issue of small arms and light weapons has particular significance in West Africa and the Great Lakes region, and in this respect my delegation has followed the work being undertaken in the sanctions Committee on Sierra Leone and in relation to the implementation of arms control measures. We have noted that the availability of such weapons fuels and keeps alive the conflicts in those regions. Such activities are also a key element in the peace-building strategies being carried forward through the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes of former combatants in Sierra Leone, the Balkans, Timor-Leste and Afghanistan.

The report of the Secretary-General on small arms and light weapons deals with some of the objectives of the Programme of Action to which I referred earlier. It would be advisable for the Security Council, however, to make specific references to — and incorporate into the various peacekeeping operations, sanctions Committees and arms embargoes — the coordination of activities for the effective fulfilment of the undertakings set out in the Programme of Action.

Mexico supports the first recommendation of the Secretary-General on the need for the Security Council to urge Member States to support measures aimed at developing an international instrument that will enable States to identify and undertake follow-up activities in a timely and reliable fashion with regard to small arms and light weapons that are unlawfully traded. In this connection, the meeting of States to be held in 2003 as a follow-up to the 2001 Small Arms Conference will be an appropriate forum to consolidate advances achieved in this field and to make further progress.

Mexico believes that in implementing the recommendations of the Secretary-General, we should undertake concerted national, regional and international efforts, in coordination with regional and subregional organizations, to combat, prevent and eradicate the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons. Similarly, mechanisms should be set up to enable the Security Council and the General Assembly more effectively to share information and propose strategies on measures to be adopted on the ground that could contribute to the United Nations Programme of Action.

Mexico will continue to urge more frequent use of assessment missions to examine issues of small arms and light weapons in regions of concern to the Security Council. We need to be more active in using our technical capacities to identify the dimensions of the problem and ways to address it, so that States cannot evade their commitments.

Mexico is convinced that the fight against the illicit trafficking and production of small arms and light weapons can be strengthened through disarmament education at all educational levels and encompassing the Government sector as well as civil society and non-governmental organizations. The recent United Nations study on disarmament and non-proliferation education, contained in document A/57/124, presents a set of 34 recommendations, some of which stress the imperative need to combat the excessive and destabilizing proliferation of conventional weapons, especially small arms and light weapons. That is a recommendation that we should heed. Recommendation 27 of that study is of particular interest; it encourages international and regional organizations and representatives of civil society, where appropriate, to include disarmament education and training in their programmes in post-conflict situations.

We hope that this open debate will lead to a document that can guide the action of the international community to combat the scourge of the illicit trafficking in small arms and light weapons, and their excessive and destabilizing accumulation. Accordingly, we are prepared to work on the drafting of a presidential statement that will reflect those aims.

Mr. Traoré (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): A little more than a year ago, here in New York, the first United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects was held. The Programme of Action that emerged from that landmark meeting shows the international community's determination to eradicate the scourge of light weapons. It identifies the responsibility of a variety of players in the illicit manufacturing, transfer and circulation of these weapons.

It was along those lines that the Security Council rightly organized a public meeting on 2 August 2001 that allowed us to engage in a substantive debate of the question and to make the appropriate recommendations. My delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General for the quality of his report, and to convey our appreciation to Mr. Jayantha Dhanapala Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs for his statement.

There is no doubt that the end of the cold war and the negative effects of globalization have promoted the proliferation of light weapons. The widespread and uncontrolled use of those weapons has seriously affected the development of our States. It has intensified violence and crime, provoked an escalation in internal conflict with catastrophic humanitarian consequences. While the impact of war on civilian populations and the development of our States is obvious, the impact of small arms once a conflict is over is a source of growing concern.

In this respect, my delegation welcomes the Security Council's adoption of a number of measures as part of the fight against the proliferation and illegal trade of small arms in all its aspects. These include imposing sanctions and embargoes; establishing monitoring mechanisms; involving the relevant international organizations and institutions and non-governmental organizations, at all levels, in the implementation of weapons embargoes; developing appropriate strategies to confront the links between the illicit exploitation of natural and other resources, and

the illegal acquisition of and trade in arms; and communicating information on financial and other transactions which feed illicit arms flows into conflict areas.

Nevertheless, we must point out that implementing light weapons embargoes is the most complex and delicate of tasks given the difficulties involved in identifying the individuals involved and the services they provide.

As members know, my country belongs to a subregion that suffers particularly acutely from the proliferation and illegal circulation of light weapons. Therefore, my delegation remains convinced that in order to overcome this scourge, it is more necessary than ever to continue to close ranks in order to develop cooperation among States and to strengthen national, regional and international measures. We welcome the July 2001 renewal of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) moratorium on light weapons, and we call upon the international community to provide its full support in the implementation of that subregional initiative.

In the spirit of that moratorium and of the Bamako Declaration, my country, Guinea, has established a national commission against the proliferation and illicit circulation of small arms and light weapons. Reporting to the Ministry of Defence, this commission includes representatives of various ministries and civil society, and has local offices; it enjoys technical cooperation with the competent bodies and subregional, regional and international organizations, including the Programme for Coordination and Assistance for Security and Development, in the context of strengthening peace and security in West Africa.

In addition, my delegation is pleased with the quality of support given to States by the Secretariat through the Department of Disarmament Affairs. That department is playing its role fully as a coordinating centre for all the activities of United Nations bodies on light weapons. We should point out, however, that those activities need to be supported through the provision of sufficient financial resources. Otherwise, the implementation of all post-conflict activities, such as disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes, will be impossible.

My delegation would like in conclusion to suggest that — in the context of an in-depth consideration of the recommendations of the Secretary-General and of the follow up of measures taken by the Council on the illicit trade of light weapons in all its aspects — we include in the mandate of the Working Group on Conflict Prevention and Resolution in Africa the coordination of initiatives to draw up a clear road map that can strengthen the current machinery and guarantee the involvement of all actors at all levels.

Mr. Williamson (United States of America): I want to thank the Permanent Representative of Colombia for drafting the non-paper on the subject of arms embargoes that has informed our current discussion. Ambassador Valdivieso's chairmanship of the Sanctions Committee on Afghanistan, which deals with arms embargoes, among other things, has been exemplary. He has been fair, businesslike and effective, and that the Sanctions Committee has made a significant contribution to the war against terrorism in curbing the financing of terrorists and in working on arms embargoes. Sadly, these weapons are contributing to violence and suffering around the world.

The United States recognizes the agonizing consequences of illicit trade in small arms and light weapons, especially in areas of conflict, where the problem is most acute, such as in Sierra Leone, in the Central African Republic — where there are three guns for every citizen — and in Guinea-Bissau, among other countries.

The United States believes that solutions to the problem of the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons must be practical and effective. The most effective way to prevent small arms and light weapons from getting into the hands of those who would misuse them is through strict export and import controls, strong brokering laws, ensuring the security of small arms and light weapons stockpiles, and destroying excess.

The United States has one of the strongest systems in the world for regulating the export of arms, with extremely rigorous procedures. All commercial exporters and brokers of significant military equipment — including small arms and light weapons — must be licensed and must submit each transaction for approval by the Department of State. That includes automatic rifles, machine guns, shoulder-fired missiles and rocket systems, as well as light mortars. All transactions are conditioned on United States authorization for re-export. We rigorously

monitor arms transfers and routinely investigate suspicious activities. In the past six years, we have interdicted thousands of illicit arms and have cut off exports to countries that failed to comply with United States law. Individuals convicted of violating our export control laws are subject to statutory debarment, to fines up to $1 million and/or to incarceration for up to 10 years.

The United States has also been active internationally in stemming the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons. We offer bilateral financial and technical assistance to help countries to develop national export and import controls, to improve border security against arms smugglers and to secure and destroy illicit stocks of small arms and light weapons in conflict-prone regions. The United States has contributed approximately $100 million in assistance to improve small-arms controls in Russia, in the Caucasus, in Central Asian and Eastern European States, in the United Arab Emirates, in Sierra Leone, in Uganda, in Liberia, in Rwanda, in Ethiopia, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in Angola, in Sri Lanka, in Timor-Leste, in the Philippines and in Colombia. We remain ready to continue that support. The United States strongly supports effective export and import controls, restraint in trade to regions of conflict, strict observance and enforcement of Security Council embargoes, strict regulation of arms brokers, transparency in exports, improving the security of arms stockpiles and the destruction of excess.

The paper submitted by the Government of Colombia in advance of this session thoughtfully focuses on the issue of arms embargoes. The United States supports almost all of the recommendations — both political and financial — made by the monitoring group established by resolution 1390 (2002). Exchanging information on the status of existing arms embargoes is of great value to the Security Council in deciding how best to establish and enforce Security Council arms embargoes.

The lack of success of some of those embargoes is due to porous borders, to weak enforcement and to a lack of political will on the part of national Governments. Just this week, the report to the Security Council of the Panel of Experts on sanctions against Liberia confirmed that the Government of Charles Taylor continues, in flagrant abuse of the Security Council's arms embargo, to procure weapons — including machine guns, missile launchers, mines and small arms — through black-market, illegal arms deals. That continued influx of weapons threatens the tentative stability that has been achieved in Sierra Leone.

The Panel's report notes that, in many cases of illegal imports to Liberia, the end-user certificates used as cover for weapons diverted to Liberia were all from member States of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). It is crucial that ECOWAS members themselves take the necessary steps to effectively enforce their own moratorium on the import, export and manufacture of light weapons. It is disappointing that only half of the member States have created such moratoriums.

The crisis in Côte d'Ivoire is an example of the bleeding of weapons between military forces and civilian populations, which is exacerbating divisions within society. The United States urges the parties in Côte d'Ivoire to negotiate a peaceful solution to the current crisis. Yet the responsibility to control small arms cannot be placed on a single State alone. Côte d'Ivoire's neighbouring States — some of which are also unstable because of their own inability to control the flow of small arms — are contributing to instability by allowing the illicit trade and passage of small arms across their borders. The view of the United States is that disarmament, demobilization and reintegration provisions are an important element of negotiated peace settlements, such as we have seen in Sierra Leone, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in Angola.

The United States has a history of demonstrated commitment to finding practical and effective ways of curbing the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons, such as our own strict export/import controls on small arms and the significant financial support we have given to other States. We look forward to working with other States in continuing to fulfil the enforcement of all small-arms embargoes created by the Security Council.

Mr. Mekdad (Syrian Arab Republic) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, my delegation wishes to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this important meeting. We should also like to express our thanks to Ambassador Valdivieso, Permanent Representative of Colombia, for the important preparatory efforts that were undertaken for this meeting. In addition, my delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General

for his report on small arms (S/2002/1053). Finally, let me express my gratitude and appreciation to Under-Secretary-General Dhanapala for presenting the report.

Today's world faces many challenges that require a collective response by the international community to ensure the primacy of justice, peace and the rule of law. Even after the end of the cold war, we continue to witness a world of murder, destruction, widespread injustice and tyranny, where aggressors continue to act with impunity and where some stand silent in the face of the crime of occupation and the related crime of genocide. Our common endeavour to build a better world must be based on the rules of international law, on the purposes and principles of the Charter and on the resolutions of international legitimacy.

In the light of that understanding — which Syria is making every effort to reinforce — we all believe that the illicit trade in small weapons and light arms threatens the lives of innocents. It has led to the murder of hundreds of thousands of children, women and elderly persons as is clear in the statistics provided in paragraph 4 of the report of the Secretary-General on small arms.

What is required from all States, particularly those that manufacture such weapons, is to make every possible effort through effective international cooperation to put an end to this tragedy. It is also important to point out that the international community, in its endeavour to combat the illicit trade in such weapons, must deal with all States on an equal footing, without double standards or discrimination based on political considerations. Such double standards allow some countries to use such weapons with the resultant bloodshed, destruction and threats to the sovereignty and national territorial integrity of States in one region while such weapons are prohibited in other regions, despite the great similarity in circumstances.

We also believe that it is necessary, indeed fundamental, for our continuing principled support of the struggle of peoples to end foreign occupation with its concomitant injustice, oppression, underdevelopment and destruction. It is important not to form a line behind a small group that is acting to change international principles of freedom and human rights, and that is trying to use such changed principles in the service of narrow interests under the general rubric of international terrorism.

The final document of the United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, adopted in July 2001, affirms the need to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and the need to refrain from intervening in their internal affairs, as well as the individual and collective right to self-defence as provided by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

The implicit right of States to acquire weapons to defend themselves and to establish their own defence systems is a fundamental issue that cannot be overstepped.

Consideration of the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons must not divert attention from the genuine roots of conflict in many parts of the world. Many of the conflicts where such weapons are used find their roots in national, social and economic conditions inherited from colonial times or stemming from foreign occupation. This is the situation in Africa, the Middle East and many other States, particularly in developing States. Such conditions ineluctably lead to disputes that may well turn into military conflicts.

Considering the issue of small weapons and combating the illicit trade in such weapons can in no way mean setting aside the priorities set out by the United Nations in the field of disarmament. Such priorities were clearly and unanimously set out in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, the first special session devoted to disarmament, in 1978, which affirmed that the utmost priority must be given to nuclear disarmament and the more destructive weapons of mass destruction than to conventional weapons.

Syria, which continues to make every effort to defend the life, security and dignity of its citizens, is keen on ensuring that small and light weapons remain nothing more than a means to ensure the security and future of its citizens. In this regard, the Syrian Government has enacted legislation and adopted a number of measures to ensure that such weapons do not fall in the wrong hands. The right to carry such weapons is entrusted only to those agencies responsible for protecting the security and safety of citizens. In this context, let me refer to the fact that in the Syrian Arab Republic, the crime rate stemming from the illicit trade in small and light weapons is one of the lowest in the world.

In view of the importance of regional and international cooperation and interaction in facing up to the issue of illicit trade in small and light weapons, the Syrian Arab Republic has signed a large number of agreements with sisterly and friendly States in order to suppress the illicit trade of such weapons and maintain our common security. Syria has also signed a number of important international agreements in this regard.

The Syrian Government gives great importance to setting ways and means to assist the Security Council in dealing with the issue of the trafficking of small and light arms. The following are among the important aspects that may be stressed in the Council's consideration of the issue.

First, the Security Council could encourage initiatives aimed at mobilizing resources and expertise in order to enhance the implementation of the Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects. It could provide assistance to States upon their request to help in the implementation of that Programme of Action. In this regard, let me reaffirm what has been stated in many of the statements at the beginning of this meeting regarding the need for all States to respect the sanctions imposed on States that allow the flow of small and light weapons to other States.

Secondly, the Security Council must continue to reaffirm the following rights. First is the inherited, historical and inalienable right to self-defence, whether individually or collectively, according to the provisions of Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. Second is the right of every State to manufacture small arms and light weapons and to import and acquire such weapons in order to defend itself and satisfy its security needs while ensuring that such weapons do not fall into the wrong hands.

Thirdly, there is the right of peoples to struggle by all means possible and in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter in order to achieve self-determination and liberate their land from occupation.

In conclusion, let me stress that the Syrian delegation will cooperate with the other members of the Security Council in preparing the draft presidential statement in order to satisfy the requirements and the tasks entrusted to this Council in preventing the spread of small and light weapons.

Mr. Corr (Ireland): This public meeting of the Council today on small arms addresses a subject of the greatest importance. My delegation is therefore especially grateful to you, Sir, for convening it. We also appreciate the issues paper you have circulated. I would also like to express appreciation, as others have done, to Ambassador Valdivieso and Colombia for the orientation paper, and to Colombia for all of the work it has done on this issue since joining the Council.

Ireland fully associates itself with the statement that will be made later in this debate by the representative of Denmark on behalf of the European Union.

May I first express the appreciation of my delegation for the report of the Secretary-General on small arms and to Under-Secretary-General Dhanapala for his introduction and briefing this morning. The report is candid, detailed and makes a number of important recommendations. Ireland fully endorses all of the proposals made by the Secretary-General.

Arms control activities, including combating illicit trade in small arms and light weapons, remains an essential dimension in conflict-prevention and peace-building efforts. As the Secretary-General states in his report, small arms fuel, intensify and contribute to the prolongation of conflicts. They are, in summary, instruments of death that cause over half a million deaths each year, mostly of civilians and mostly of elderly people, women and children.

The United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, held in July last year, agreed a modest but still worthwhile Programme of Action as a first step towards controlling the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons. It also made a range of proposals for Security Council consideration and action. The Conference was, in summary, a first important step — though it was nonetheless only a step — in achieving meaningful international action in this area.

In general terms, the Security Council should offer its full assistance and support to the United Nations agencies and programmes which are active or may be established in efforts to counteract the illicit spread of these weapons. Ireland would encourage the Council also to urge all Governments to support such agencies.

Two particular challenges for the Council are worth emphasizing today.

First, the Council has imposed an arms embargo as part of all current United Nations sanctions regimes. The Council has also sought to strengthen compliance with arms embargoes through the establishment of independent panels of experts and monitoring mechanisms.

The States Members of the United Nations and regional organizations have the main responsibility for monitoring and enforcing arms embargoes. We support consideration of Council action against States that deliberately violate arms embargoes. The experience of the Monitoring Mechanism on Angola has shown that the flow of weapons from producing countries can be stemmed — particularly with the cooperation of those countries.

Many of the world's conflict situations are fuelled in large measure by the easy supply of small arms. The ease with which they are concealed and moved, their low cost and the flagrant manner in which Council arms embargoes are often violated makes it an extremely difficult task to retrieve and destroy these weapons. It makes sense to do everything possible to stop their supply at the source.

We believe that Member States have a primary responsibility in this area. Accordingly, we support the recommendation contained in the Secretary-General's report that Member States should be called upon to bring their own national legislation into compliance with the Security Council's measures and sanctions, in particular arms embargoes.

My delegation attaches importance to the recommendation that the Security Council should encourage States which have not already done so to establish the necessary legislative or other measures to ensure effective control over the export and transit of small arms and light weapons. This includes the use of authenticated end-user certificates. We know from various Panel reports that forged end-user certificates have been the route through which illegal arms shipments have been made in recent conflicts. We have to do more on this.

The Council has made considerable progress in this work, but I think it fair to say we still have some distance to go in detailed monitoring; in controlling financial sources used for the purchase of illegal weapons; and in working with business, financial institutions and other actors — internationally, regionally and at the local level — on the implementation of arms embargoes.

The Secretary-General's report rightly draws attention to the link between the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons and the illicit exploitation of natural and other resources. We agree with his recommendation that we should look at the recommendations of the various panels established to investigate such links, including that of the Democratic Republic of the Congo Panel, with regard to the issue of small arms.

There is a second challenge for the Council that we need to address. The Security Council has made disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) central to conflict resolution and post-conflict peace-building. Sierra Leone, Liberia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo are all current examples, to a greater or lesser extent, of the challenges facing the United Nations in this area.

Ireland strongly supports the recommendation of the Secretary-General that the Council call upon parties to conflicts under its consideration to place activities relating to disarmament, demobilization and reintegration in the texts of negotiated agreements, and that disarmament, demobilization and reintegration as well as weapons collection and disposal activities be included in the mandates of peacekeeping operations.

In summary, Ireland endorses all of the recommendations made in the report of the Secretary-General on small arms.

We fully agree, in particular, that the Security Council should call upon Member States to support efforts aimed at developing an international instrument to identify and trace illicit small arms and light weapons.

We also agree with the specific recommendations of the Secretary-General on more vigorous use of arms embargoes; the establishment of monitoring mechanisms under each relevant Council resolution involving arms embargo issues; and the inclusion of clear DDR provisions in the mandate of peacekeeping operations.

My delegation sees merit in the recommendation that consideration be given to ensuring that DDR activities are not entirely dependent upon voluntary

contributions from Member States. We would therefore favour strengthening the financing of DDR programmes through the expansion of measures covered under the budget for peacekeeping operations.

Finally, let me say that small arms is an issue that, above most others, requires strong political will and leadership. We in the Council have made a good start, but we still have a good distance to go.

Mr. Konuzin (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We are grateful to the Secretary-General for his report on small arms and light weapons, and we also wish to thank Under-Secretary-General Dhanapala for introducing the report.

We have carefully studied the Secretary-General's report on small arms, as well as the recommendations contained therein. We are grateful for the fact that it contains a number of proposals put forward by our delegation.

To a large extent, we agree with what has been said at today's meeting and with the concerns expressed and the assessments and proposals made. The Russian Federation calls for the strengthening of the coordinating role of the United Nations in the quest for solutions to the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons.

Recently we have focused our attention on a range of related issues. A great deal of research has been done with the assistance of governmental experts in elaborating recommendations in this area, and the General Assembly has adopted a number of important resolutions. This was highlighted by the holding in 2001 of the United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, at which a Programme of Action was adopted. We expect that the meeting scheduled for 2003 on this issue will constitute the next important step in this area.

We are convinced that the fundamental work done on this track must continue to be carried out within the framework of the prescribed formats.

With respect to the role of the Security Council, it is our conviction that the Council must focus its attention primarily on those instances in which the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons is directly linked to conflict situations that are on the Council's agenda. We believe that the presidential statement adopted in August 2001 during a meeting of the Council chaired by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia accurately reflects this.

The Russian Federation has consistently called for the introduction of tough measures in those cases in which arms are being delivered to illegitimate regimes or to armed groups. At the time, together with the United States, we initiated the imposition of an embargo on arms deliveries to the Taliban. As events have shown, that measure was fully warranted and helped to bring about the fall of the terrorist regime in Afghanistan.

We see a similar positive impact in cases such as those of Angola, Sierra Leone and a number of other conflicts. This experience has shown once again that the Security Council is well placed to take effective measures. At the same time, we must step up the monitoring of Security Council embargoes on arms deliveries and, if reliable information emerges regarding violations of such embargoes, the relevant sanctions committee must immediately oversee an investigation of the facts.

In the context of United Nations peacekeeping operations, peace agreements among parties need to set out clearly the parameters of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes for ex-combatants, and peacekeeping mandates must include a practicable and adequately resourced component by which to collect and destroy illegal small arms and light weapons in close interaction with the parties to the conflict. We fully agree with and support the recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's report on this matter.

We believe it important to continue to focus particular attention on finding specific and practicable measures to combat the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons on a preventive basis and in the post-conflict phase of conflict settlement. In that regard, we believe that the accumulated experience of regional organizations in resolving this issue would be very helpful. The Security Council should call on all Member States to engage in closer cooperation in this sphere, with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Organization of American States, the African Union, the League of Arab States and other organizations, and should ensure their practical interaction and the coordination of their action on specific regional problems. A good example

of such interaction would be the opening in Belgrade of a centre, under United Nations Development Programme auspices, for information exchange on small arms and light weapons under the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe.

The Council must pay particular attention to mobilizing external resources so that the international community can provide technical and financial assistance to the countries most affected by the problem of the excessive spread and destabilizing stockpiling of small arms and light weapons. The absence of or deficiencies in domestic legislation to curtail the illegal circulation of small arms and light weapons substantially complicates the achievement of a regional or global solution. We must do all we can to encourage action to refine and codify national export control regimes with a view to organizing wide-ranging exchanges of information among States regarding existing legislation and practices in this sphere.

Mr. Doutriaux (France) (*spoke in French*): First of all, Mr. President, I wish to thank you for organizing this debate on small arms. I also thank the Secretary-General for his report and Mr. Dhanapala for his supplementary comments.

France associates itself fully with the statement that will be made by Denmark, which currently holds the presidency of the European Union. I will therefore confine my comments to two important points. First of all, the Security Council must, of course, lend its full support to measures taken by Member States to implement the Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, which was adopted on 20 July 2001 in New York.

For the first time in the history of arms control, a consensus text was adopted covering small arms and light weapons and including a Programme of Action. Those measures must now be implemented. Meetings are to take place biennially; next year's will enable us to take stock and to prepare the 2006 review conference. Along those lines, the formulation of an international instrument to identify illicit supply lines and to ensure the traceability of small arms should be encouraged by the Council. Such an instrument would meet our ongoing concerns with regard to the implementation of arms embargoes and peace-building programmes in crisis situations fed by illicit arms flows. The group of governmental experts established to study the feasibility of an international instrument, and voluntary cooperation among Member States on this topic, deserve our full support. The work done by France and Switzerland on certain aspects of these issues will be food for thought.

In terms of following up the 2001 Conference, I would also like to mention the wish of many States, African States in particular, whose unstinting commitment to the success of the Conference we hail; they have asked for fresh consideration of arms transfers to non-State entities, which bear such a large part of the responsibility for promoting conflicts, especially in Africa. I refer here to what was just said by the representatives of Mauritius, the United States and Guinea with respect to various conflict situations in Africa in the Mano river and the Great Lakes regions.

Secondly, because of the Security Council's responsibility to maintain international peace and security, we are directly concerned with respect to the illicit trafficking of light weapons in situations of which the Council is seized.

I will not belabour the essential nature of programmes for the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants for the success of United Nations peacekeeping operations. The reform begun in 2000 on the basis of the recommendations of the Brahimi report (S/2000/809) has enabled us to learn from our experience on the ground and as much as possible to concentrate the attention of the principal players and donors on this crucial phase of establishing a momentum for peace. The representative of Mauritius also stressed disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes, particularly in the Great Lakes region.

Another important dimension of this question — embargoes and sanctions monitoring mechanisms — should also be a focus of our attention. We recall that France and the United Kingdom had proposed the establishment of a permanent sanctions monitoring mechanism in order to get a more realistic idea of the trafficking in all its complexity and ramifications, especially when this trafficking of small arms is fuelled by the illegal exploitation of natural resources or other items of trade. The work of France and the United Kingdom parallels that of Colombia on integrating and better coordinating the activities of the various panels of the sanctions Committees. In that respect, I thank

Ambassador Valdivieso for the non-paper that he circulated among Council members.

The Council must be able to look at ways to improve the effectiveness of arms embargoes and in particular to learn all the lessons it can from the sanctions Committees. Henceforth, it could be pointed out that the practice of publicly naming the traffickers and their key go-betweens who are violating embargoes has borne fruit and should be further developed. We are led to conclude that the networks at the core of that traffic are not innumerable and the threads of the web often lead to the same individuals. The Security Council should call on the States concerned to take the measures necessary to effectively suppress actions that violate United Nations embargoes.

Regarding a subject of such great importance, given its diverse dimensions and often technical nature, the Council should continue its reflection and its work by experts, particularly in conjunction with the sanctions Committees.

Mr. Kolby (Norway): Allow me first to thank the Secretary-General for a very substantial report to the Council with several concrete recommendations. They deserve our close attention and support.

The spread of illicit small arms and light weapons is a global threat to human security, human rights and international humanitarian law. The great majority of victims are innocent and vulnerable civilians, and children in particular are paying a heavy price.

Besides the humanitarian toll, illicit small arms and light weapons undermine peace-building efforts as well as conflict prevention. We are concerned that unregistered arms transfers to conflict regions seem to continue unabated. We are also seeing massive exploitation of natural resources for the purchase of arms. The link to organized crime, drug trafficking and terrorism underscores the urgency of dealing effectively with illicit small arms.

The good news is that the international community is addressing the issue and the Security Council has a key role to play in that respect. Preventing and combating the uncontrolled spread of small arms must be an integral part of the Council's peace efforts. That should constitute a key task for the Council in discharging its primary responsibility for maintaining peace and security.

Combating illicit traffic is essential in order to succeed in peace-building and conflict prevention. Recommendations 7 and 8 in the report are important in that regard. Provisions for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) and weapons collection should be considered in the context of negotiated settlements and by the Council in peacekeeping mandates. By including DDR in budgets for peacekeeping operations, we ensure a more solid financial basis for those crucial activities. The case of Sierra Leone illustrates fully the importance of DDR as a part of overall peace-building efforts. Sierra Leone also illustrates the weakness of voluntary funding of DDR programmes. In general, it is particularly important in the fight against illicit arms to form partnerships between affected countries and regions and those who can offer assistance, technically and financially. That problem is a challenge to us all.

Dealing with the supply of arms is obviously just as important as collecting illicit weapons in conflict areas. We agree that arms embargoes should be used more vigorously and expeditiously. The Council must continue to promote the effective implementation of arms embargoes, for instance, through sanctions Committees and expert panels. As illustrated by Colombia's paper prepared for this discussion, the panels have made a number of specific proposals for strengthening arms embargoes. The Council should consider how those recommendations could be taken forward. The violation of sanctions is a serious challenge, and decisive action should be considered against States that deliberately violate arms embargoes.

This leads me to the issue of tracing, which is critical to identifying the origin and supply routes of illicit weapons to conflict areas. We support the Secretary-General's recommendation that the Council should call for the preparation of an international instrument on tracing. Important work has already been initiated in this field; for instance, the establishment of a United Nations expert group to examine the feasibility of developing such an instrument. We are convinced that that expert group would benefit from the initiative taken by France and Switzerland to develop elements for a political arrangement on tracing and marking. Other challenges for the Council include cooperation against illicit arms brokering and efforts to strengthen export controls and transparency in armaments.

The United Nations Secretariat will have an important support function to fulfil for the Council and Member States in dealing with illicit small arms and light weapons. We note the Secretary-General's intention in recommendation 3 to set up a small arms advisory service within the Department for Disarmament Affairs based on extrabudgetary resources. If such a service is to provide added value, it should primarily have a coordinating and advocacy function. We strongly emphasize that such a service should not develop operational capacity and duplicate what others are already doing well. The Council should continue its discussion of questions related to illicit small arms. It might be useful to consider if any of the particular issues raised in the report and in today's discussion would lend themselves to a more focused debate in the Council at a later stage. That discussion could take place partly in connection with the drafting of a presidential statement, as proposed by Colombia.

Mr. Broucher (United Kingdom): Allow me, at the outset, to thank you, Mr. President, for the opportunity to have this important debate. Let me also thank Under-Secretary-General Dhanapala for introducing the Secretary-General's report and the delegation of Colombia for its thought-provoking paper. In making this national statement now, the United Kingdom also wishes to associate itself with the statement that Denmark will make on behalf of the European Union.

The serious threat to security caused by the uncontrolled proliferation of small arms and light weapons is all too well known. There is an urgent need for the international community to continue to implement the United Nations Programme of Action, to reduce the estimated 639 million small arms and light weapons in circulation and to reduce the estimated 500,000 deaths caused by them each year.

The 2001 United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons and the adoption of the Programme of Action demonstrate the resolve and commitment of the international community to tackle the problems caused by small arms and light weapons. The Programme of Action also highlights the role that can be played by the Security Council in implementing the campaign against small arms proliferation and misuse. The Security Council has an important part to play in helping to mainstream small arms and light weapons issues. We therefore welcome the publication of the Secretary-General's report and support its recommendations.

Turning to some of the specific points in the report, the Security Council should continue to encourage all Member States to implement the United Nations Programme of Action at a national, regional and global level and to allocate sufficient and appropriate resources to that task.

We would find it useful to have clarification on the funding, remit and relationship with national points of contact of any small arms advisory service that may be established by the Department for Disarmament Affairs under recommendation 3.

The United Kingdom supports recommendation 5. We also support the proposal at recommendation 8 to strengthen the financing of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes by the expansion of measures covered under peacekeeping operations, although we are mindful of the implications such a step could have on available resources.

In our view, there is still valuable work to be done under recommendation 6.

When looking at end-user certificates in recommendation 9, more needs to be done to ensure the authenticity of the certificate and to protect against goods being diverted from their intended destination. Exporting countries need to assess the genuine needs of the end user before despatch. The United Kingdom, working through its diplomatic posts abroad, has a mechanism in place to confirm the accuracy of information contained in end-user certificates. We would be prepared to consider exchanging information on a more systematic, case-by-case, bilateral basis with others.

The United Kingdom is sympathetic to the call for some standardization of end-user certificates. The European Union and Wassenaar Arrangement have already undertaken some useful work in this area. We agree that the certificate should include the name and address of the signing authority, but to add contact details for brokers would not work.

Concluding my remarks on the recommendations, the United Kingdom fully supports the reporting requirements in recommendation 12.

More generally, we would also encourage the Security Council to consult more widely with relevant

organizations such as the G-8, Roma-Lyon and the New Partnership for Africa's Development when it is considering specific country or regional situations. Informal meetings between the Secretary-General and regional organizations could be used as opportunities, or have an element within them, to specifically focus on small arms issues, the outcome of which could then be reported back to this forum.

I would also like to make a couple of points about the recommendations contained in the Colombian paper. We will maintain a register of all arms brokers, but for us it is not the bureaucratic act of registration that counts so much as the ability to scrutinize and to approve or refuse licenses. Regulation of deals made by brokers is the key. The United Kingdom would also welcome further clarity as to whether any international standards that might be formulated on transfer of ownership of arms consignments apply to domestic or international transfers, or to both. The United Kingdom applies the criteria set out in the European Union Code of Conduct on Arms Exports to assess whether an international transfer of arms is permissible. We recommend the development of rigorous export criteria controls on similar lines. We also maintain a database of export licence applicants, but it is not exclusive to arms transfers.

We consider that it is important to strengthen the ability of the Security Council and the Sanctions Committee to monitor implementation and enforcement of sanctions. Ad hoc United Nations expert units and monitoring mechanisms have played a valuable role in naming and shaming sanctions busters and in focusing on how sanctions could be improved. But their ad hoc nature means the Council does not have an institutional memory, and important recommendations such as those contained in the Colombian paper are not followed up. Jointly with France, we have proposed establishing a permanent monitoring mechanism under the authority of the Security Council to achieve this. The mechanism would build on the work of ad hoc United Nations expert panels and monitoring mechanisms by giving the United Nations a permanent capacity to monitor the enforcement of sanctions. We hope that Security Council members can support that important initiative.

We like the recommendation to introduce legislation to regulate the leasing of aircraft used in transporting small arms. United Kingdom legislation already makes it an offence to use any United Kingdom registered aircraft without a licence, or for United Kingdom persons to charter an aircraft for the carriage of arms to a destination subject to a United Nations arms embargo. That also applies to shipping. We do not believe it necessary to adopt such regulations for destinations not subject to arms embargoes.

In the West African region, we consider it appropriate to strengthen and support the efforts against small arms of the Economic Community of West African States. We support Security Council measures to clamp down on those producer countries seeking to flood the region with weapons.

In closing, I would like to thank the President of the Security Council for distributing his draft document. We will, of course, give it our full consideration and give our views in due course.

It is right that the prevention, combating and elimination of the spread of small arms and light weapons is a priority for the Security Council. It is ours, too. To this end, we have committed £19.5 million to a number of programmes and projects over the next three years. On 6 May this year, we signed the Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms. The Secretary-General could also encourage other countries to do the same. The United Kingdom will actively participate in assessing developments and results of the United Nations Programme of Action at the forthcoming biennial meetings and at the Review Conference in 2006.

We look forward to working with the Security Council and others to operationalize the recommendations in the report and, by so doing, to move another significant and substantive step forward in the fight against illicit small arms and light weapons.

Ms. Lee (Singapore): At the outset, I would like to thank you, Sir, for convening this open meeting. I would also like to thank Mr. Jayantha Dhanapala, Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, for introducing the Secretary-General's report and for his briefing this morning. We also note the important role that Colombia has played on this issue, and we are in the process of studying their paper, as well.

Disarmament efforts in the past tended to focus on weapons of mass destruction. At the very most, we concentrated on increasing transparency on major items of conventional military equipment such as tanks and artillery. But in so doing, we ignored the world's real killers. It is not tanks, fighter aircraft or high-tech

weapons that cause the most deaths and injuries. Instead, most conflicts around the world have been fuelled by simple pistols, rifles and machine guns.

The Secretary-General has described illicit small arms and light weapons as weapons of mass destruction in terms of the carnage that they have caused. The latest statistics of the United Nations show that at least half a million people die each year as a result of small arms and light weapons. What is even more disturbing is that most of those killed are civilians, the vast majority being women and children.

According to the Secretary-General's report, there are more than 639 million small arms floating around. Of those, more than 40 per cent are illicit. In the hands of non-State actors such as terrorists and criminals, those weapons are forces of destruction to be reckoned with.

I would like to compare the flow of small arms to a river. If harnessed correctly it can be damned up to provide hydroelectric power and be an important source of water. Similarly, small arms used in a legitimate context can be wielded to ensure law and order. Just as water is essential for our survival, legitimate small arms are crucial for a country's self-defence. But, like a river that bursts its banks during a monsoon, a flood of illicit small arms can also leave death and destruction in its wake. Like water, too, small arms are inexpensive and easily available. In some places, the deadly AK-47 assault rifle will set you back by as little as $6. That is what commuters pay each day to drive into Manhattan. That same rifle can be obtained for a bag of grain in other parts of the world. These weapons are also easy to use. A child can be taught to use one in a single lesson, and these weapons — unlike tanks, aircraft or artillery guns — are also easy to conceal and transport. And, as we all know, these weapons are lethal.

Concerned countries and non-governmental organizations have asserted that illicit small arms and light weapons are a threat to peace and development, democracy and human rights. Illicit arms destabilize regions, exacerbate conflicts, obstruct relief programmes, undermine peace initiatives and foster a culture of violence and impunity. Given the global emphasis on combating terrorism, I would be remiss if I did not also mention the role of small arms in relation to terrorism. Certainly, terrorists can and do use such weapons to carry out heinous acts against the innocent.

In recent times, the United Nations and the international community — clearly aware of the dangers of having a swollen river burst its banks — have taken reinforcement action. The adoption of the Programme of Action at last year's United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects and the Council's presidential statement reinforcing the Programme of Action are examples of this. When the Council asked the Secretary-General to recommend ways that it could contribute to combating illicit small arms and light weapons in the issues under its consideration, the Council was also in fact commissioning architectural plans for yet another embankment.

In our statement last year, we made two key points about the Council's role in combating illicit small arms. We are pleased to see that the Secretary-General has elaborated on these in his report. We said that the Security Council could contribute first by giving teeth to our arms embargoes through more stringent implementation and monitoring of such embargoes. Secondly, we could focus on more disarmament, demobilization and reintegration in United Nations peacekeeping operations. Our logic was simple: We need to slow the flood of small arms and light weapons being channelled into conflict or post-conflict regions. We also have to mop up the reservoir of weapons already in those regions. However, as all of us know, this is much more easily said than done. Nonetheless, one year on, the Security Council appears to be going in the right direction.

It is heartening that the Council has, through the establishment of monitoring mechanisms and panels of experts, taken concrete action to strengthen the enforcement of its arms embargoes to dam up the flow of weapons into conflict and post-conflict regions. There is a Monitoring Mechanism on Sanctions against UNITA; Panels of Experts on Liberia and, most recently, Somalia; and, of course, a Monitoring Group mandated by resolution 1390 (2002) on the sanctions against the Taliban and Al-Qa'idah. It is laudable that the Council has set up such monitoring mechanisms and panels to enforce its sanctions. However, the terms of reference for such bodies is arbitrary. For example, there is a permanent Monitoring Mechanism on Sanctions against UNITA, but only ad hoc Panels were set up for Liberia and Sierra Leone. Surely, the West African countries are just as important as countries in southern Africa.

Many of the recommendations made by these monitoring mechanisms or panels are also similar. For consistency and to avoid duplication, the Council should consider a permanent monitoring mechanism to deal with all the arms embargoes that it has imposed. Furthermore, as the Secretary-General has hinted in his report, there are frequent and flagrant violations of the Council's arms embargoes. Indeed, it is often the same States and international non-State actors that violate our various arms embargoes. This reinforces what we and other Council members have pointed out in the past — that the Council cannot enforce sanctions in a vacuum. Just as dams and embankments are not built by the architect and the engineer alone, stemming the torrent of illicit small arms will need to be a coordinated effort between the Council, regional organizations, Member States and civil society. The Council needs help from Member States for the effective implementation and monitoring of these embargoes.

We have also made some progress in soaking up the weapons already in the hands of former combatants. All of us know that disarmament, demobilization and reintegration are crucial in post-conflict societies. The Council has also emphasized disarmament, demobilization and reintegration in United Nations peacekeeping operations. Ex-combatants respond well to non-monetary incentives — such as tools, schools, construction materials, health care services and road repairs — to the voluntary surrender of weapons. Consequently, we have had some success in the fields of disarmament and demobilization.

However, our biggest challenge lies in the reintegration of ex-combatants. As one Special Representative of the Secretary-General has noted, the focus of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration should be reversed to reintegration, disarmament and demobilization. Unless ex-combatants are given the opportunity to reintegrate into society, they will find it difficult or have few incentives to lay down their arms and demobilize. Our record in this area is sketchy. This is a difficult area in which the United Nations role will overlap with that of Governments and in which peacekeeping and peace-building will overlap with development.

We should discuss the ways in which the Security Council can provide support to the relevant United Nations agencies and work with other principal organs of the United Nations, such as the Economic and Social Council, to tackle this multifaceted issue. For example, we need to consider what can be done to sharpen the focus on retraining and finding jobs for such men, women and children. We need to consider what can be done to find a space for the ex-combatants and for their communities to reabsorb them. We need to look at the coordination between peacekeeping operations and the efforts of other United Nations agencies and at how they can be improved. Finally, we also need to consider what are the benchmarks to determine when the responsibility of the Security Council should or could end so that the conflict will not re-emerge. These are key questions that we should ponder as we go about our business.

The easy availability of illicit small arms and light weapons has already caused much death and destruction. The Council will need to work with all members, non-governmental organizations and civil society to tackle this difficult problem. According to Buddha, "there are two mistakes that we can make: not going all the way and not starting." I am pleased to say that we have avoided the latter. Members that have spoken before us — and I am also sure that the speakers to follow will do the same — have given many useful ideas on how to bring this issue forward. Like other colleagues, we would like to express our willingness to seriously consider these suggestions when we discuss the draft presidential statement that you, Sir, have circulated.

The meeting was suspended at 12.40 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4623 (Resumption 1)

Security Council

Fifty-seventh year

Provisional

4623rd meeting

Friday, 11 October 2002, 3 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Belinga-Eboutou	(Cameroon)
Members:	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Doutriaux
	Guinea	Mr. Traoré
	Ireland	Mr. Corr
	Mauritius	Mr. Koonjul
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Singapore	Ms. Lee
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Mekdad
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Broucher
	United States of America	Mr. Williamson

Agenda

Small arms

Report of the Secretary-General (S/2002/1053).

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

02-63564 (E)

The meeting resumed at 3.15 p.m.

The President (*spoke in French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Pakistan in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Akram (Pakistan) took the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*spoke in French*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Cameroon.

Cameroon associates itself with the statement to be made later in the debate by the Republic of the Congo on behalf of the 11 States members of the Economic Community of Central African States. I should like, however, to make several observations in my national capacity.

I should like thank the Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, Mr. Jayantha Dhanapala, for his excellent introduction of the report of the Secretary-General on small arms.

Cameroon has good reason to be interested in the proliferation of illicit small arms, because it is located in one of the regions that are probably most affected by this scourge. This is not the first time that the Security Council has taken up the issue of small arms and light weapons. Because of the threat that the proliferation of and illicit trade in small arms poses to international peace and security, the Council has been actively seized of the matter since 1998 and has been considering it regularly.

Today's debate, based on the Secretary-General's report, is a continuation of the work being done by the Council. It offers us another opportunity not only to further refine measures already recognized to combat this worldwide scourge, but also to explore new approaches and solutions. In the opinion of my delegation, the Programme of Action adopted by consensus by the United Nations Conference on Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons In All Its Aspects, held from 9 to 20 July 2001, offers an appropriate context for international action and for strengthening the Security Council's actions.

Recourse to sanctions, particularly arms embargoes in areas affected by conflict, is still the preferred instrument for action by the Security Council. However, looking at the experience of existing sanction regimes, we see that the effectiveness of strict implementation of arms embargoes depends, to a large extent, on the cooperation of many players at the national, regional and international levels. Their role is a crucial one if we want regular, reliable and useful information about trafficking networks, and if we want to monitor them effectively.

At this point, I would like to stress the decisive part played by States. Above and beyond the national measures that need to be taken to contribute to implementation of the embargoes imposed by the Security Council, States must regulate the entire arms sector in order to control, depending on their peculiar situation, the movement of small arms. That is why we support the efforts to encourage the drafting of an international instrument on international arms transfers, including tracing.

All efforts to control illicit flows of small arms, particularly in Africa, will be futile without such measures. The approach based on a moratorium on arms imports comes up against this constraint. Such a moratorium is not a panacea that can apply to all affected regions of the world. Each region is different.

Given its powers, the Council becomes answerable if it refrains from taking the necessary steps against the States which deliberately violate arms embargoes or contribute to violations by the way they conduct themselves. The Council cannot impose embargoes while at the same time it chooses to ignore those other than the targeted State who are guilty of violating the embargoes. Likewise, the Council must also look into the sources of the illicit trade in small arms in violation of its embargoes whether it be related to the illegal exploitation of natural resources, drug trafficking or simply international criminal networks.

As far as Cameroon is concerned, the actions of the various bodies of the United Nations — each within its own field of competence, of course — on the question of small arms are complementary and must lead to a coherent overall strategy. This is why we

encourage the Council, where appropriate, to include in the mandates of peacekeeping operations activities for the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants and for the collection and destruction of weapons. We also believe that the Council should provide adequate financing for that purpose.

We fully endorse the relevant recommendations made in the Secretary-General's report. They will be a useful supplement to the measures already advocated and will certainly help to stop those interests that are particularly sensitive, sometimes profit-oriented and often criminal.

Views expressed during this debate complement others in the report of the Secretary-General. Naturally, they will be used to enhance the draft presidential statement that will be presented in the next few days to the Council members, once completed by our experts.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of the Republic of Korea. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Lee Ho-jin (Republic of Korea): My delegation appreciates the convening of this open meeting on the question of small arms as one more step to further enhance efficiency of the work of the Security Council. We also thank Under-Secretary-General Dhanapala for the excellent introduction to the Secretary-General's report on the subject.

In substance, the subject we are dealing with is an important issue with many challenges involving security, humanitarian and development dimensions.

As noted in the presidential statement of the Security Council of 31 August 2001, the accumulation of small arms

> "compromises the effectiveness of the Security Council in discharging its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security". (*S/PRST/2001/21*)

Indeed, the destabilizing accumulation and illicit transfer of small arms and light weapons pose major security concerns for the entire international community, as reflected by the startling statistics on this problem. Every year, the misuse of small arms and light weapons has led to the loss of 500,000 lives, the majority of them being civilians, including women and children. Additionally, recent developments have highlighted the further danger posed by the likelihood of the use of small arms by terrorists and non-State actors.

The momentum generated by the Programme of Action adopted last year at the United Nations Conference on Small Arms and Light Weapons is now having an impact at national, regional and global levels. As underscored by the Security Council, the Programme's success depends largely on the political will of the international community. Hence, sustained and concerted global action is vital in addressing the problems posed by the illicit transfer of small arms and light weapons. Accordingly, the Security Council should continue to play a constructive role in promoting the implementation of the Programme of Action.

There are many complexities stemming from the proliferation of small arms in post-conflict situations. Of particular concern is the recurring pattern of violence and instability. Therefore, there is a compelling need for the Security Council, in carrying out its peace-building activities, to include specific considerations for small arms and light weapons.

My delegation regards the 12 recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General (S/2002/1053) as valuable input for future action by the Security Council. We should like to identify areas within the report as a basis for our deliberations.

Given that the proliferation of small arms gives rise not only to the outbreak of violence but also to the exacerbation, prolongation and perpetuation of conflict, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programmes are crucial for consolidating peace and for promoting an environment for sustainable development. As reflected by the growing number of casualties, the availability of weapons in conflict-ridden areas is a great threat to the safety and security of United Nations peacekeepers. The implementation of more effective DDR programmes within the Security Council's conflict prevention and post-conflict peace-building efforts will help to ensure the safety of all civilians in areas of conflict.

The Security Council has rightly stressed the need to incorporate relevant provision for DDR programmes into the mandates and budgets of all peacekeeping operations. It is noteworthy that various

United Nations peacekeeping operations — particularly those in Africa — now include a disarmament component aimed at collecting and disarming these types of weapons. As we said at a previous open meeting, the Security Council is fully equipped to integrate the recommendations concerning DDR into its future peacekeeping activities as a core element.

With regard to the question of embargoes, the lessons learned from the past have shown that weapons embargoes alone are not sufficient. In the view of my delegation, sanctions should be fine-tuned to effectively target a region or specific countries to achieve a greater degree of success. We agree on the need for the Security Council to study further ways and means to improve its efficiency on a case-by-case basis. My delegation welcomes the recommendations calling for the vigorous and expeditious use of arms embargoes by the Council. In addition, we would like to see the Council pursue the use of monitoring mechanisms, in accordance with Article 41 of the Charter, with a view to ensuring successful enforcement.

My delegation agrees with the Secretary-General's recommendation that the Security Council should call on Member States to establish and implement legislation or measures to regulate the movement of small arms and light weapons. In particular, we welcome the Council's efforts to encourage all Member States that have not already done so to adopt and enforce stringent regulations with regard to export control.

Once again, the Security Council should maintain its attention and its active engagement with regard to curbing the proliferation and illicit trade of small arms and light weapons. The Republic of Korea would like to assure members of its unswerving support for the Council's initiatives in that field.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Aboul Gheit (Egypt) (*spoke in Arabic*): Allow me, Mr. President, to express to you and to your friendly country, Cameroon, our sincere thanks and appreciation. We are pleased to take part in this meeting under your presidency to discuss an issue of such great importance to the African continent — an issue that threatens its children, hundreds of thousands of whose lives are claimed each year in wars and conflicts as a result of the proliferation of small arms and light weapons.

The effectiveness and the credibility of the Security Council are derived not only from its being the mechanism that was chosen by the entire world more than half a century ago to maintain international peace and security, but also from its ability to address new challenges to peace and security, to respond to them and to develop procedures to confront them. The Council has become aware of the danger posed in recent years by the illicit proliferation of and trafficking in small arms and light weapons, of their impact on humanity and of the urgent need to face this challenge seriously and effectively, in a manner commensurate with the danger.

As the Council has considered the changes and planned its activities accordingly, the General Assembly has taken concrete steps to consider the legal and political aspects of the issue of small arms and light weapons and the dangers that they pose. The Assembly has done that through the creation of more than one panel of experts, the holding of the United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in all Its Aspects, and the adoption there of an ambitious Programme of Action that we should make every effort to implement over the next four years.

I should like to express my delegation's appreciation for the valuable report of the Secretary-General on small arms (S/2002/1053) and for the recommendations that it contains. On behalf of the Egyptian delegation, I should like to make a few remarks on the issue now before the Council.

First, the fact that hundreds of thousands of people fall victim each year to small arms and light weapons clearly makes it necessary for the Security Council to address the issue of the proliferation of such weapons within the framework of its main responsibility: the maintenance of international peace and security.

Secondly, the new measures adopted in that regard by the Council over the past few years — such as the establishment of independent panels of experts and of monitoring mechanisms for implementing arms embargoes — have had limited success in dealing with the illicit trade in and the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. That limited success can be

attributed in some cases to the practical difficulties of accurately monitoring arms exports and to an absence in the Council of the political will to enforce certain embargoes and to verify their implementation — as had been the case with regard to Somalia for the past 10 years, until the Council finally took measures to ensure the implementation of the arms embargo imposed against that country under resolution 733 (1992).

Thirdly, the Egyptian delegation endorses the Secretary-General's recommendation that the exchange of information between the Security Council and the General Assembly be improved in order to bring about better coordination between the strategies of the two bodies in the field of small arms and light weapons, giving due consideration to the differences between the role and mandate of the Council, on the one hand, and the more comprehensive role played by the Assembly, on the other.

(*spoke in Arabic*)

Fourthly, there is no doubt that, in addition to the adoption of specific measures to deal with the excess of small arms and light weapons and their destruction, the Security Council should include in the mandates of peacekeeping operations clear provisions with regard to the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration into civilian life of former combatants.

Egypt recommends that the committee on peacekeeping operations of the General Assembly should look into the possibility of promoting the United Nation's role in the DDR programmes and in financing activities through the budgets of peacekeeping operations.

In conclusion, the delegation of Egypt fully endorses the Secretary-General's recommendation urging the Security Council to give more attention to the implementation of arms embargoes and arms exports to regions and countries that face armed conflicts or are actually undergoing them, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of The United Nations. It should also consider the possibility of adopting certain measures against countries that deliberately violate Security Council resolutions on arms embargoes.

The Security Council has an important role to play in the field of small arms and light weapons, in light of its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with Article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations. While we stress the responsibility of the Security Council in this regard, we would like to draw attention, once again, to the natural right of States, individually or collectively, to self-defence, and to the right to self-determination for all peoples, particularly those under foreign occupation.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of Ukraine. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and make his statement.

Mr. Kuchinsky (Ukraine): I wish to take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation to you for holding this important public debate on the question of small arms. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his comprehensive, substantive and timely report on this issue and Under-Secretary-General Mr. Dhanapala for his presentation of this important document.

The illicit trafficking and accumulation of small arms remain among the greatest impediments to sustainable development, conflict prevention and resolution and post-conflict peace-building. They pose a serious threat to human security and human rights.

Ukraine has continuously expressed its concern about the serious humanitarian consequences of this phenomenon, which claimed hundreds of thousands of innocent lives all over the world, thus highlighting a global dimension of this problem. We are deeply convinced that without concerted efforts by the international community to prevent uncontrolled proliferation of these weapons it is impossible to maintain peace, regional security and global security. The necessity of this has become even more acute and urgent after the tragic events of 11 September.

The Programme of Action adopted by the 2001 United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects has been a significant but perhaps only a first step towards the goal of controlling this scourge. We hope that within the follow-up process at global, regional and national levels it will be possible to make the implementation of the Programme of Action more efficient as well as to find ways to strengthen and further develop the measures contained therein.

In our view, it is essential to provide for global and regional coordination between national control

systems and mechanisms for preventing illicit small arms and light weapons trade operations.

The responsibility for establishing control over the traffic in small arms and light weapons rests with the States acquiring those weapons. At the same time those States should be encouraged to improve their abilities to curb the illicit traffic in small arms. That might require financial assistance from the international community.

Ukraine welcomes the initiatives taken by the Secretary-General and is looking forward to the results of work of the Group of Governmental Experts on the marking and tracing of small arms. We hope that the findings of the Group will lay the groundwork for the development of an international instrument, open to all, which will increase the national capacity of States to identify and trace, in a timely and reliable manner, small arms and light weapons, as well as to seize those of an illicit nature.

Preventing, combating and eliminating the uncontrolled spread of small arms and light weapons is one of the important issues the Security Council must deal with as part of its primary responsibility for maintenance of international peace and security.

It is evident that promoting long-term conditions for development and security is not possible without resolving ongoing conflicts and taking adequate measures to ensure stability in post-conflict situations.

Excessive accumulation of and illicit trafficking in small arms and light weapons fuel, intensify and delay the resolution of conflicts. We note that a series of innovative measures, taken by the Security Council, to enhance compliance with arms embargoes by establishing independent panels of experts and monitoring mechanisms resulted in positive outcomes, especially in Angola and in Sierra Leone. At the same time the problem of illicit trafficking persists in some other areas of conflict.

We believe that at this stage it is important to review the lessons learned in order to ensure the efficiency of measures that could be further taken by the Council. In this connection it will be useful, in our view, to focus on financial sources used for purchase of illegal weapons and to address the relationship between the illicit exploitation of natural and other resources and the purchase of and trade in illegal arms. It would also be important to define the role the relevant international organizations, business and financial institutions and other actors at the international, regional and local levels can play in the implementation of arms embargoes.

We share the view expressed in the report of the Secretary-General that arms embargoes help to stop arms flows into targeted countries and to rebel groups, but do not eliminate small arms and light weapons that already exist in areas of conflict. The effective functioning of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes for former combatants and the implementation of projects aimed at collecting and destroying illegal weapons are of considerable importance to the successful implementation of measures taken by the Security Council to redress the situation in a specific country-related context.

We therefore welcome the observations made and the 12 recommendations proposed by the Secretary-General, and we look forward to a further update on the issue of small arms and their impact on post-conflict peace-building, human security and human rights.

I should like to stress the fact that Ukraine conducts a responsible policy in the field of arms control. Ukrainian legislation envisages strict measures to prevent the illegal manufacturing, possession and trafficking of all types of armaments, including small arms and light weapons. The national export-control system provides for effective export and import licensing procedures. Efforts are also being made to improve national legislation in this field. One of the most recent steps was the adoption by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine of an action plan to implement the Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, as well as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Document on Small Arms and Light Weapons.

Finally, let me assure the Council that Ukraine will continue to take an active part in international efforts to combat the illicit trafficking of small arms and light weapons and to restrain their uncontrolled proliferation.

The President *(spoke in French)*: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Chile. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Acuña Pimentel (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): My delegation welcomes the opportunity of this public debate on a subject that, as we all know, is related to issues that are a source of deep concern to the international community, not only in the humanitarian, security, disarmament and development fields, but also in the field of prevention of international crime, including drug trafficking, terrorism and human security.

I am grateful also to the Secretary-General for his report on this important question, and we deem the 12 recommendations therein of particular interest.

As has been repeatedly stated with concern in various specialized reports on small arms and light weapons — reports with recognized academic credibility — for many years now the world has been witness to the phenomenon of the excessive accumulation and illicit traffic in this type of arms. This accumulation is destabilizing and to a large extent the result of illicit trading, to the point where this category of arms is today considered to be one of the principal scourges causing the death of civilians throughout the world, particularly children and women. It also perpetuates, and is one of the underlying causes of, poverty and the domestic and international conflicts that affect or hinder the development of countries.

This was recognized by the Secretary-General in the report he submitted to the Security Council on the subject, in which he states that preventing, combating and eliminating the uncontrolled spread of small arms and light weapons constitutes one of the key tasks of the Security Council in discharging its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, which was held in July 2001, and its conclusions represent an important milestone in the humanitarian field and in the fields of disarmament and human security. At that Conference, Chile stressed the need for the Programme of Action on Small Arms and Light Weapons to include a set of clear and effective measures to promote respect for, and the protection of, human life as a fundamental value, over and above the commercial interests associated with this category of arms. This is the approach that Chilean domestic law has adopted on the subject.

Chile firmly supports the Programme of Action adopted by the Conference. To that end, it sponsored in November last year, jointly with the Regional Centre for Peace, Disarmament and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean, the first regional expert workshop to examine and propose measures for the evaluation of, and follow-up to, the aforementioned Conference. This initiative is in addition to other important initiatives taken by our region, such as the Inter-American Convention against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Ammunition, Explosives and Other Related Materials, and the Working Group on this type of arms of MERCOSUR, Bolivia and Chile. All of these activities aim to intensify the efforts of our countries to combat this serious problem in a coordinated manner.

From a global perspective, the Security Council over the years has put in place a considerable number of mechanisms to avert, at least to some extent, the catastrophic consequences of the excessive accumulation of, and illicit trafficking in, small arms and light weapons, including the imposition of embargoes on territories in situations of conflict and, in cases of conflict prevention, the undertaking of peacekeeping operations and peace-building activities.

Over time, the efforts made to operationalize the wide range of measures in these various cases have created a rich store of specialized knowledge that can be used to formulate principles, norms and measures to combat this phenomenon in a more rational and effective manner, even though — as the Secretary-General indicated in his report — there are many regions and cases in which it is not possible to prevent and eliminate illicit trafficking.

The Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons contains important provisions falling within the purview of the Security Council, for example, those on the effective implementation of embargoes and those on the inclusion in the activities of peacekeeping operations of adequate provisions in this respect.

Against this backdrop and based on the Secretariat's experience, the Secretary-General has formulated a set of 12 recommendations in his report which my delegation considers to be a valuable contribution to the Council's work. Most of these have already been implemented, at least to some extent, or are related to initiatives that have been proposed by

experts and Governments, but that are still the subject of debate and have yet to be translated into action.

The systematic review by the Council of these 12 recommendations, with the assistance of the Secretariat, could, in our view, be useful in the formulation of a methodology that could be used to take up, with the renewed determination that the situation requires, the task of implementing more effective measures to overcome the serious problems posed by small arms and light weapons.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of the Philippines. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Manalo (Philippines): First of all, allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We also congratulate Bulgaria on its presidency last month. We further wish to thank Under-Secretary-General Dhanapala for his presentation this morning.

Mr. President, I wish to express my delegation's appreciation for your having convened this very important meeting. The proliferation and uncontrolled spread of small arms and light weapons pose a serious threat to peace, safety and security and disrupt sustainable economic growth and social development. The excessive accumulation and unregulated distribution of firearms further aggravate conflicts. My country has experienced terrorism and the consequent loss and displacement of innocent civilians and the commission of heinous crimes due to the proliferation of small arms and light weapons.

In this regard, the Philippines notes that the report of the Secretary-General on small arms presents not only the recent initiatives of the Council but also recommendations and observations regarding an expanded role for the Council in its two primary tasks: arms embargoes, and the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of ex-combatants. The recommendations are noteworthy and would serve well in the development of both short-term and long-term strategies to counter the dangers that the proliferation of small arms and light weapons poses to peace and security.

With regard to DDR, my delegation maintains its view that this should not be merely a post-conflict peace-building measure. With respect to low-intensity, long-running conflicts, this practice may not be very effective and could even be counter-productive as combatants turn to crime, piracy, acts of terrorism or other similar activities. Combatants, therefore, should have a viable and practical opportunity to remove themselves from an ongoing conflict and for their small arms to be collected. The availability of DDR before conflict ceases may in fact hasten the resolution of conflict. My delegation is gratified that this element has been incorporated in the United Nations Programme of Action, and we welcome the recommendation contained in the Secretary-General's report to include it in the mandates of United Nations peacekeeping operations.

As part of a long-term strategy, the Philippines strongly supports the decisions adopted by the Security Council in its resolutions 1314 (2000) and 1379 (2001), relating to the protection of children in armed conflict. In recognition of the humanitarian costs and consequences of small arms proliferation and abuse, the Philippines is undertaking a comprehensive programme for children in armed conflict, with three components — prevention; advocacy and mobilization to save our children; and rescue, rehabilitation and reintegration. Measures for prevention are approached through livelihood programmes, educational assistance, health care and nutrition services, food security and the provision of basic facilities and infrastructure.

Of the total recorded crimes committed with firearms in the Philippines last year, 85 per cent were committed with unlicensed or illegally possessed firearms. The Programme of Action adopted by the Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons is, therefore, a major step in the right direction in addressing this problem. The statement issued by the Security Council President on 31 August last year called on all Member States to take required measures to implement the recommendations contained therein. The Philippines has undertaken initiatives to implement the United Nations Programme of Action.

The Philippines hosted a regional seminar on implementing the United Nations Programme of Action in July 2002, co-sponsored by Canada. Delegates from eight member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and from Australia, China, Japan and Republic of Korea, together with representatives from civil society and the arms industry, participated in this seminar. Observers from

some European Union countries and the United States of America also participated.

This seminar aimed to promote awareness of the United Nations Programme of Action in Small Arms and Light Weapons at the regional level. The discussions focused on capacity- building, training in law enforcement, customs and airport control, collection and destruction programmes and DDR.

The report of the seminar Co-Chairmen concluded that developing a regional arrangement to deal with the problems of illicit trade in small arms and light weapons is crucial, and it proposed that the following principles be taken into consideration. First, there should be respect for and commitment to international law and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Secondly, such an arrangement should be balanced, realistic and implementable, with the primary objective of ensuring that arms transfers are made solely by States. Thirdly, such arrangement should take into account the right of each State to manufacture, import and retain small arms and light weapons for its self-defence and security needs. Fourthly, such arrangement should take into account the role played by civil society in raising awareness of the danger associated with the illicit trade in and uncontrolled proliferation of small arms and light weapons.

Simultaneously with this seminar, a symbolic arms destruction ceremony was held to coincide with the first anniversary of the 2001 United Nations Conference. More than 1,000 confiscated, seized and surplus small arms and light weapons were destroyed during the ceremony.

Finally, my delegation appreciates the political impetus that the Security Council has given to the issue of small arms and light weapons. We believe this reflects recognition that the proliferation and abuse of small arms and light weapons is a threat to international peace and security.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the representative of the Philippines for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Australia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Tesch (Australia): Mr. President, the Australian delegation is pleased to see you in the chair and is very grateful for the opportunity to speak briefly on this very important matter. We also thank Under-Secretary-General Dhanapala for his introduction of the Secretary-General's report on small arms, which we consider very important and timely contribution to international efforts to combat the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons.

The report usefully identifies ways in which the Security Council, in fulfilling its role in maintaining international peace and security, can help to control and eradicate the illicit small arms trade, building on the 2001 United Nations Programme of Action.

All of the report's recommendations are important, but some stand out for Australia as being of particular merit. Reflecting our extensive experience in dealing with post-conflict situations in the South and South West Pacific, Australia strongly endorses recommendations 7 and 8, encouraging the inclusion of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) activities in Council mandates and budgets for peacekeeping operations. We also strongly endorse recommendations 5 and 11, calling for the strict enforcement of all Council resolutions on sanctions, including those imposing arms embargoes, and for effective monitoring mechanisms to oversee the rigorous and effective application of embargoes. It is in these two areas in particular — inclusion of DDR activities in peacekeeping mandates and rigid enforcement of arms embargoes — that the Council can make a practical and positive impact on international efforts to combat the illicit small arms trade.

Australia also commends the report's recognition of the important role of strengthened national export control measures in ensuring effective regulation of small arms exports. Effective national export controls, including end-use certification, are the first line of defence against illicit transfers and help to prevent exports that may start out as licit ending up in the wrong hands.

While the role of the Council is important, the prime responsibility for combating the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons lies with Member States. The 2001 United Nations Programme of Action provides a comprehensive and dynamic framework for Member States to follow in combating the illicit small arms trade at the national, regional and international levels.

Good progress has been made in promoting regional-level cooperation in particular, as indeed we have heard from a number of speakers today. The provision of capacity-building assistance to States with development needs is an important means of enhancing regional cooperation. Australia is strongly committed to continuing to assist countries in the South Pacific region to combat the problems posed by small arms, through the institution of better governance and accountability. We have been actively involved in small arms disposal processes in Bougainville and the Solomon Islands, as an element of broader peace-building efforts there. Australia is also working closely with Japan to organize a second small arms workshop for Pacific Island countries, following a successful inaugural workshop we hosted in 2001.

In the lead-up to the biennial meeting on small arms in mid-2003, Australia urges Member States to renew their efforts to implement the United Nations Programme of Action. We must maintain a strong collective resolve to address effectively the humanitarian and security dimensions of the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons, as identified in the Secretary-General's report.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the representative of Australia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Japan. I invite her to take a seat at the Council table and to make her statement.

Ms. Inoguchi (Japan): At the outset, as the Permanent Representative and head of the delegation of Japan to the Conference on Disarmament at Geneva, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to you, Mr. President, on behalf of my Government, for inviting us to participate in the Security Council's deliberations on the issue of small arms, an increasingly important item on the disarmament agenda. It is my great honour to address this body, which has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. I would also like to express my utmost appreciation to Secretary-General Kofi Annan and to Under-Secretary-General Jayantha Dhanapala and his office for issuing a substantive and comprehensive report on this issue.

Numbers speak for themselves. Small arms and light weapons kill more than 500,000 people every year. The excessive accumulation of such weapons is a particularly dangerous destabilizing factor in post-conflict situations, as it disrupts humanitarian aid operations and hinders rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts. The excessive accumulation of such weapons can also rekindle conflicts and thus undermine efforts for peace and stability.

The events of 11 September 2001 showed another dimension of the issue of small arms. Those are the weapons that various terrorist groups around the world use most frequently. The elimination of the supply of weapons, including small arms, to terrorists, as called for in Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), is an essential element in the global fight against terrorism.

The problems of small arms and light weapons are multidimensional and interlinked. I cannot fail to note that there is also a gender element involved. One of the extraordinary aspects of contemporary wars and conflicts is the large proportion of non-combatants among the victims. As a matter of fact, the greatest number of conflict-related deaths of women and children are caused by small arms. Restraining and curbing the problems of small arms and light weapons is a matter of urgent priority for the entire international community.

The United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, held in July 2001, adopted a Programme of Action that represents the collective will of the international community to address these problems. That outcome of the Conference was further consolidated with the adoption of General Assembly resolution 56/24 V, on small arms and light weapons, the draft of which was submitted jointly by Colombia, South Africa and Japan in October 2001. That resolution called upon all States to implement the Programme of Action and decided to convene a conference, no later than 2006, to review progress made in its implementation. The consensus adoption of that important resolution demonstrates global solidarity in addressing the issue of small arms and light weapons.

The resolution also decided to hold biennial meetings of States, the first of which will take place next year. The purpose of that meeting is to provide an opportunity for States and other international actors, including non-governmental organizations, to share experiences and lessons learned in the implementation of the Programme of Action. Such exchanges will

allow them to address their problems more effectively and efficiently.

Japan, as a country steadfastly committed to tackling the issue of small arms, attaches great importance to the global implementation of the Programme of Action. In January we organized a meeting to follow up on the United Nations Conference. We are also planning to hold a seminar with the participation of Pacific countries to facilitate their implementation of the Programme of Action. I would like to take this opportunity to remind all delegations that, since Japan would like to play a meaningful, if modest, role at the 2003 meeting, it has already announced its candidacy for the chairmanship of that meeting.

The Programme of Action comprises two categories of measures: prevention of the excessive accumulation of small arms and the reduction of such accumulations. With regard to prevention, a Group of Governmental Experts has been established to examine the feasibility of developing an international instrument to enable States to identify, trace and disrupt illegal supply lines. The report of the Secretary-General calls upon Member States to support such meaningful exercises. As a member of that Group, Japan will continue to actively contribute to it.

The Programme of Action also calls for the effective implementation of arms embargoes decided by the Security Council. Monitoring arrangements are also in place to ensure the effective enforcement of embargoes. Japan supports the recommendation of the report of the Secretary-General that the use of a combination of those measures should be further enhanced.

With regard to the reduction of excessive accumulations of small arms and light weapons, the Programme of Action stresses the importance of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of ex-combatants. In that regard, the Programme calls upon affected countries to develop DDR projects, while also calling for international assistance and cooperation in support of such projects. Further, the inclusion of DDR in the mandates of peacekeeping operations, where appropriate, deserves the serious attention of the Security Council.

Japan will continue to implement appropriate weapons for development projects in cooperation with other Governments, international, regional and non-governmental organizations. Japan has also recently begun a joint research programme with the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research on arms collection projects in Albania, Cambodia, Congo, Mali and Papua New Guinea. That research will be completed no later than 2004, and we are confident that it will provide the international community with valuable lessons learned from the experiences of those affected countries.

The role of the United Nations is increasingly important in following up last year's United Nations Conference. The Coordinating Action on Small Arms mechanism is already harmonizing the response of the United Nations. Japan commends the initiative taken by the Secretary-General in establishing the small arms advisory service, which will greatly enhance United Nations efforts in that area.

I would like to touch upon the significant achievement of the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms and the United Nations standardized instrument for reporting military expenditures. They are valuable international means for promoting transparency in armaments and international confidence-building. This year, the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms is celebrating its tenth anniversary. Currently, 120 Governments are submitting their official data on the transfer of arms. In order to promote the universality of the Register, Japan has been co-organizing, with Canada, Germany, the Netherlands and the United Nations, a series of regional workshops in several countries, including Ghana and Namibia. A similar seminar is planned to take place in Indonesia next February.

The trust fund established in the Department for Disarmament Affairs has supported several United Nations activities, such as the study of the problems related to small arms and light weapons, public awareness programmes and the dispatch of fact-finding missions to affected countries. Japan has thus far contributed $2.16 million to the Fund.

Finally, I would like to stress the importance of addressing the root causes of violence, armed conflicts, instability and other threats to international peace and security. In order to prevent the resurgence of conflicts and to foster durable peace and stability in post-conflict situations, it is important to accelerate the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants. But it is equally important to promote

economic and social development, democratization and reconciliation among the parties to a conflict. That approach will help to ensure a fundamental, long-term and comprehensive solution to security problems in volatile areas. I believe that it is an approach the international community must take in order to consolidate peace and stability around the world in the twenty-first century.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of the Congo. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Ikouebe (Congo) (*spoke in French*): On behalf of the 11 countries members of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) — Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Rwanda and Sao Tomé and Principe — I would first like to express our pride in seeing you, Sir, presiding over the Security Council for this month. I would also like to thank you for including in the agenda of the Council the sensitive issue of small arms, which is at the heart of the greatest concerns of Central Africa.

For, as everyone knows, Central Africa has for some years faced a grave situation of armed conflict, destabilization and insecurity. It was not long ago that of the 11 members of ECCAS, seven were in a situation of war or instability. Simply consulting the agenda of the Security Council, one can see that the situation in Angola, Burundi, the Great Lakes, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Central African Republic is routinely the subject of intense debates in the Chamber.

It is therefore an opportunity for me to thank the Council for all the interest that it has constantly attached to the evolution of this highly sensitive geopolitical and security situation in the subregion.

But this is also an opportunity to announce to the entire international community that, for the first time in a long time, prospects for a return to peace are emerging today in the majority of the States concerned. The Security Council is therefore especially requested to take all the necessary measures to encourage, assist, accelerate and strengthen those positive developments in order to make the peace process irreversible. That is particularly the case with the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where the strengthening of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) is crucial.

If I chose to refer to those situations, it was to underline that, as is often the case with conflicts in the Third World, the wars afflicting Central Africa are principally fuelled by light weapons, the subject of today's debate.

To deal with this situation, the leaders of Central Africa have adopted an entire series of measures to build confidence among States, to prevent conflicts and to resolve them when they erupt. They have done so in order to establish lasting peace and security in a region which can offer a great deal more to Africa and the world.

Therefore, numerous initiatives, recommendations and specific measures were adopted in the framework of ECCAS and through the United Nations Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa, a working tool that the United Nations has put at our disposition to assist us in the highly sensitive domain of peace, security and preventive diplomacy.

In July 1999, at Yaoundé, Cameroon, there was a high-level subregional seminar on the examination and implementation of the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General on the causes of conflict and the promotion of lasting peace and development in Africa. At that seminar, the member countries of ECCAS adopted measures and recommended the implementation of the following mechanisms in the fight against the trafficking in and proliferation of small arms: the establishment of national commissions to combat the proliferation of light arms; approaching the Secretary-General of the United Nations to create an advisory mission on monitoring and collecting arms in the subregion of Central Africa; implementation of a community charter on investments foreseeing coercive measures in dealing with companies maintaining armed militias; the creation of a subregional register of conventional weapons; and a review and harmonization of national laws concerning carrying arms.

Those measures and mechanisms were reaffirmed during the subregional conference on the proliferation and illicit circulation of small arms and light weapons in Central Africa, held in N'Djamena, Chad from 25 to 27 October 1999. During that conference, ECCAS member countries adopted the following recommendations: the harmonization of the national

legislations of Central African States in the fight against the illicit proliferation and circulation of small arms and light weapons; the creation of a uniform arms register at the national and subregional levels and a databank on the existing stocks of each country, arms dealers and transport agents; a request for the Secretary-General's support of programmes for disarmament, demobilization and the reintegration of ex-combatants; a request for the assistance of the Secretary-General for the countries in the subregion in their efforts to restructure their armed forces and police; the examination of regional projects to collect arms, in cooperation with international institutions and financial backers, as well as small-scale development projects to promote the economic and social reintegration of those possessing illegal weapons of war; and the creation of a subregional office in Central Africa of the International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol) and a more active cooperation between that body and the countries of Central Africa.

Within the framework of the programme of work of the Advisory Committee during the period 2002 to 2003, the member countries of ECCAS also envisaged the organization of a subregional seminar on the implementation in Central Africa of the Programme of Action adopted at the United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, which was held here last year.

Also foreseen is the organization of a workshop on the participation of ECCAS member States in the creation of a United Nations Conventional Arms Register and a United Nations register on military spending.

As can be seen, the ECCAS member States are fully conscious of the real danger posed by small arms in an area that is attempting to end a very sad page in its history.

Today, the presence on Angolan soil of thousands of anti-personnel mines is sufficient to remind us that the fight against that category of arms is a question of day-to-day survival for populations anxious to recover the happiness of a normal life.

For the leaders of Central Africa, now that most of the States concerned can entertain real hopes for peace and security, the problem is finding the human, material and financial means to implement peace-building policies. Once all the peace agreements have been signed; once the foreign troops have withdrawn; and once national reconciliation has been achieved, we will have to support all these developments with measures to collect arms and to disarm, demobilize and reintegrate ex-combatants as soon as possible. The States members of ECCAS are committed to devoting a substantial share of their resources to such programmes. They expect the international community to assist them in establishing a definitive peace in their subregion.

In conclusion, I congratulate the Secretary-General on his excellent report on small arms, which Mr. Dhanapala introduced with great eloquence this morning, and assure him of the full cooperation of the countries of Central Africa in the implementation of its relevant recommendations, the majority of which mesh perfectly with the initiatives and actions undertaken by ECCAS.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the representative of the Congo for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Israel. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Lancry (Israel): At the outset, I would like to commend the Secretary-General for his report on small arms and, in the same vein, to thank Under-Secretary-General Dhanapala for his remarkable introduction of the report this morning.

The State of Israel views the illicit trade and trafficking in small arms and light weapons first and foremost as a humanitarian issue. Such activity invariably leads to the loss of innocent life and affects the basic right of people to lead their lives peacefully, without fear of getting killed simply for being in the wrong place at the wrong time.

The humanitarian dimension of this problem must remain foremost in our minds as we conduct deliberations on this matter. Our aim must be to prevent not only the irresponsible flow of arms, ammunition and explosives, but also the indiscriminate attacks which inevitably result from illicit trade and trafficking.

Our actions must also deal directly not only with States that engage in this activity, but also with non-State actors — terrorist groups, criminal organizations and others — that gain access to small arms and light weapons. In the past year, the world has recognized the

threat that terrorism poses to freedom, security and global stability. The international community has resolved not only to combat terrorists directly, but also to insist that States end the financial and logistical support that makes terrorism possible. These efforts to deny terrorists the means to carry out their attacks must also include steps aimed at denying them access to small arms and light weapons.

This may seem like an unattainable objective, but in fact it is entirely within our ability to achieve. Israel believes that the best way to curb the illicit circulation of small arms and light weapons throughout the world is, first, through strong national commitment and determination. It is our view that States bear the primary responsibility for ensuring that no weapons, including small arms, are transferred from their territory without proper oversight. States must undertake adequate marking and recording procedures for all weapons, stringent export controls and appropriate domestic legislation to prevent the misuse and proliferation of arms.

Action taken at the national level must be supplemented by regional coordination and cooperative international efforts. Arms proliferation is, after all, a transnational problem, exploited mainly by international terrorists and criminal organizations. If States adopt clear and explicit commitments to bar different entities under their jurisdiction from engaging in the illicit traffic of arms, withhold assistance from outside elements involved in this traffic, and cooperate in international and regional frameworks, we can greatly reduce the threat posed by these weapons.

The Programme of Action, adopted in July 2001 during the Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, represents an important first step in this regard. All efforts should be exerted to find ways and means to implement the provisions of the Programme of Action, including measures to pressure recalcitrant States to do more to fulfil their obligations. We are pleased with the progress that has been made, especially in several regional initiatives which constitute an appropriate framework for combating the illicit circulation of small arms and light weapons. Still, more work needs to be done to prevent arms from falling into the hands of those who would use them for criminally destructive purposes.

Israel is a country that, more than half a century after its establishment, continues to face threats both from States in the region as well as from terrorist organizations with increasing access to conventional weapons. Small arms in the hands of terrorist organizations have exacted a high price in human suffering, while also serving to obstruct efforts to achieve a durable peace. Not only in Israel, but in other parts of the world as well, terrorism has been a cause of political instability and hinders social and economic development. Clearly, small arms have not had small consequences.

Moreover, the relative speed and ease with which terrorist groups have built up significant stockpiles of conventional arms even raises the spectre of their one day being capable of deploying weapons of mass destruction. It is imperative that we act now to prevent even greater threats in the future.

In our region, we are particularly vulnerable to the harmful effects of the illicit traffic in small arms. Though the spirit and the letter of the Oslo agreements greatly restrict the number and type of weapons permitted to the Palestinian Authority, we remain perpetually at risk due to the dangerous violation of these accords.

In the early morning of 3 January 2002, the Israel Defense Forces seized a ship called the Karine A, carrying 50 tons of weapons and ammunition bound for the Palestinian territories. The ship contained an enormous cache of weaponry that would have significantly elevated the ability of Palestinian terrorists to kill and maim Israeli civilians. Among the weapons found were a large number of rockets, mortars and launchers; anti-tank weaponry, mines and explosives; and other types of light weaponry, including sniper rifles, assault rifles and hand grenades. The Karine A and the weapons discovered aboard it were financed by the Palestinian Authority with the assistance of other States in the region.

The use of boats to carry weapons intended for terrorist use, without any country accepting responsibility, is a phenomenon that should be declared unacceptable by the international community.

Furthermore, last April, in the course of Operation Defensive Shield, Israel seized nearly 2,000 Kalashnikov rifles, almost 400 sniper rifles and over 2,000 long rifles from Palestinian terrorists. These weapons are in addition to the pistols, mortars,

grenades, launchers, bombs and other explosive devices that Israeli forces discovered. Much of this weaponry was purchased with the help of other regimes in the Middle East. It hardly needs to be mentioned that these weapons are intended not for defensive purposes but to escalate the terrorist campaign against the citizens of Israel and that they serve only to create ever-greater obstacles along the path to peace and reconciliation. Many of the weapons seized were subsequently destroyed.

We wish to take this opportunity to call upon our neighbours and all the countries in the region to adopt a responsible policy and to take the necessary measures to stop the flow of arms from their territories to terrorist groups. We expect the international community to join us in that call. The result of this flow of arms is the fuelling of the conflict by increasing the amount of illegal arms in terrorist hands, thereby adding to human suffering, animosity and instability in the region. Terrorism, after all, is only viable if countries allow, and even support, its fortification by weapons transfers.

The Security Council, as the body now charged with coordinating the international efforts against terrorism, must also address the role of arms proliferation in terrorist activities. Specifically, in the context of the counter-terrorist measures it is requiring of all States, the Council must issue a call for the implementation of measures to prevent arms from falling into the hands of terrorists.

Israel continues to face threats to its very existence, as well as a regional build-up of conventional weapons. We therefore have consistently attached great importance to confronting overall proliferation threats and challenges, including small arms, and have placed counter-proliferation high on Israel's security agenda. We share the efforts of like-minded States to place this issue at the top of the arms control agenda. We also believe that cooperation and coordination at the international level should be strengthened in the continuing fight against proliferation.

Israel adheres to strict export control regimes. Israel's firm arms-transfer policy includes tight controls aimed, inter alia, at the prohibition of exports to regions or States under United Nations Security Council sales embargoes, non-State entities, subversive and underground movements, terrorist or guerrilla groups, criminal organizations, or areas where there is ongoing internal armed conflict between rival parties. Moreover, Israel's export control regulations concerning the export of small arms and light weapons obligate the exporter to apply for separate and specific licences from the relevant authorities, including negotiation permits and export licences.

In addition, Israel invests in research, development and production of new technologies and equipment to prevent the illicit smuggling of arms along its borders and points of entry. Israel has an extremely advanced marking and record-keeping system, which is an integral part of the production process. This marking is very reliable.

Israel is willing to work with other countries in our region to coordinate our efforts and share our experience in combating the illicit spread of small arms and light weapons. We remain committed to working in a cooperative, regional approach, as part of a shared global commitment to end the tragedy caused by these weapons.

Finally, Israel believes that the international community should recognize the right of States to acquire and produce small arms for self-defence and the necessities of national security, as determined by each State. However, the international community does have the right to insist that the use of these weapons be restricted to self-defence and national security purposes only. Moreover, we have the full right — and, indeed, the obligation — to demand that States ensure that these weapons do not fall into unauthorized hands.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Costa Rica. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Stagno (Costa Rica) (*spoke in Spanish*): As long as weapons exist, it will be impossible to achieve peace. Arms are a catalyst to armed conflicts.

The arms market has perverse consequences. In 1998 there were 588,000 deaths in various conflict areas as a consequence of the use of small arms and light weapons. In 41 countries, 300,000 child soldiers take part in active combat, while insurgent and paramilitary groups have recruited another 500,000. If we add the number of displaced people and of those whose fundamental rights have been affected by violence, the total number of victims is intolerable.

My delegation welcomes the report of the Secretary-General on small arms and, in particular, its emphasis on the need for the Security Council and the General Assembly to coordinate their efforts to regulate the traffic and use of these weapons. In this context, we consider it essential for the Security Council to cooperate in the full implementation of the Programme of Action adopted by last year's United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects.

War is a business. Regardless of how bloody or unjust it may be, war is always a business. Ninety-eight countries maintain arms industries that, by definition, depend on war to exist. Among those States only 22 have published official reports on their sales and transfers of weapons. Arms manufacturers profit from war and, on occasion, do so at the expense of public treasuries. The production of weapons is also highly subsidized. Various Governments offer financial incentives to their weapons industries through "offset agreements" and "recoupement fees" in order to make those industries more competitive on the global level. The States with arms industries are therefore indirectly responsible for wars.

Greater transparency in the international weapons market is required. Currently, only 20 per cent of the international legal market in small arms and light weapons can be documented and traced through the respective customs services. Sales licences, end-user and final-destination guarantees and other measures to control the arms market are totally insufficient.

Illicit parallel arms markets continue to exist, thanks to the action, or inaction, of many Governments. In 2001 alone, 54 States were linked to transfers or resales of arms, in clear violation of existing international arms embargoes.

This deadly trade, which does not respect borders, requires international regulation. Therefore, although we welcome the adoption of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and its three Protocols, we regret that it does not cover the sale or transfer of arms among States or non-State entities. Unfortunately, the Programme of Action adopted by the United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects suffers from the same deficiencies.

Costa Rica fully endorses the first recommendation in the Secretary-General's report to the effect that the Security Council should support the negotiation of an international instrument on the transfer of small arms. Since 1997, my country has been advocating the adoption of an international code of ethics for arms transfers. The draft instrument, which seeks to ban the transfer of military hardware and personnel and to eliminate financial and logistical support for those States whose armed forces, police or paramilitary units participate in or contribute to the violation of human rights, was prepared and endorsed by 19 individuals and institutions — all Nobel Peace Prize laureates — including our former President, Oscar Arias Sánchez. We urge all Member States that are committed to a stable and lasting peace to support that initiative.

We also support the Secretary-General's recommendation that the Council resort more frequently and resolutely to embargoes on arms and ammunition and adopt strong measures to ensure full compliance and verification. It is essential for the Council to examine the possibility of imposing sanctions on those States that flagrantly violate — whether directly or indirectly — arms embargoes. Likewise, all States must participate in the United Nations Conventional Arms Register and publish reliable information on their military expenditure and arms transfers.

My delegation fully agrees with the Secretary-General that the Security Council must examine and respond to the harmful interrelationship among the illicit transfer of weapons, drug trafficking and the illicit exploitation of natural resources. In this regard, we would like to recall the valuable and courageous reports on the illicit exploitation of natural resources of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Angola.

We believe that it will be necessary to request similar reports to evaluate the actual implementation of arms embargoes and to study the sources financing of the illicit arms trade.

Of the 138 States that have provided information, 51 devote more resources to their military budgets than to education, health care and preventive health care. In the twenty-first century, there are too many societies that are armed, yet illiterate and sick. The fight against the use and proliferation of these weapons requires the demilitarization of our societies and the creation of a true culture of peace in which the basic rights of all are recognized.

In this context, the Security Council must not only support efforts at disarmament but promote the reduction of military budgets. We note the Secretary-General's seventh and eighth recommendations to the effect that the Security Council should include measures aimed at the disarmament and demobilization of combatants within the mandate of peacekeeping operations. We believe it necessary, however, for those mandates also to seek the total disarmament of those societies in which there is armed conflict, as a necessary step towards stable and lasting peace.

Costa Rica fully supports the holding of the first biennial meeting to be convened in accordance with the Programme of Action of the Small Arms Conference. We trust that the meeting will be held in July 2003 here in New York.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Nigeria. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Mbanefo (Nigeria): I am very happy to see you, Sir, presiding over this meeting today. I should like to congratulate you very warmly on your assumption of the presidency for this month.

My delegation warmly welcomes the Secretary-General's report, which we consider very useful and helpful.

The issue of the illicit traffic in small arms and light weapons continues to be a matter of great concern to my delegation, considering the fact that the use and ready availability of those weapons are a major source of insecurity and contribute to socio-economic stagnation throughout the developing world, especially sub-Saharan Africa, the region to which we belong. They have become the most common means of prosecuting armed conflicts, civil wars and criminal acts in our societies. It is important to recognize that while nuclear weapons — weapons of mass destruction — may present a grave danger to the world, it is small arms and light weapons that have been responsible for the death of hundreds of thousands of people in the world today.

The ever-expanding use of these weapons and their consequences present the international community with a new challenge. This is mainly because their proliferation sustains conflicts, exacerbates violence, contributes to the displacement of civilians and undermines respect for international humanitarian law. It poses a new threat to humanity in the form of terrorism and organized crime. It has a negative impact on women and the elderly and devastating consequences on children. The world must seriously face the grave challenges posed by these weapons if our civilization and economic progress in the twenty-first century are to be maintained.

Unfortunately, this problem has grown to such immense proportions that it is practically impossible for many countries in sub-Saharan Africa to focus attention on issues of development without first resolving the problem of the illicit transfer of these weapons to their territories. Any action by the international community that could put an end to this negative phenomenon would, no doubt, constitute the first major step towards helping Africa to achieve sustainable and meaningful development.

My delegation is deeply concerned that, despite the serious danger that the illicit use of these weapons poses, there is currently no international treaty or other legal instrument to control their use. We therefore wish to reiterate the call made by my President, Mr. Olusegun Obasanjo, to the General Assembly on 15 September 2002 for a legally binding international instrument to control access to these weapons by non-State actors. We are, however, encouraged by the attention the Council has so far given to this matter.

It is gratifying to note that there is increasing multilateral cooperation on the issue of small arms and light weapons. This was demonstrated last year with the convening, here in New York, of the United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, which adopted a Programme of Action to prevent, combat and eradicate the illicit trade in these weapons. The Programme of Action contains a comprehensive set of measures to address the problem. We note with appreciation and satisfaction that that Conference — the first of its kind on this issue — generated political will and momentum for efforts to control these weapons. We urge the international community to sustain that momentum for progress. We also emphasize the need for full implementation of the Programme of Action.

My delegation is also pleased with the successful negotiation of the Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Their Parts and Components and Ammunition, which was

adopted on 31 May 2001. Although the Protocol is supplementary to the United Nations Convention on Transnational Organized Crime, its adoption was a positive development in the fight against the illicit proliferation of small arms and light weapons. We therefore appeal to all Member States to sign and ratify the Protocol.

While these are welcome developments towards combating this menace, we should not indulge in the euphoria of victory, as there are still hurdles ahead. Because of the multifaceted nature of the causes of armed conflicts that partially prompt the proliferation of these weapons, it is imperative that this problem be tackled in a comprehensive and integrated manner. In that regard, we wish to express our belief in the need to build on the existing national and regional initiatives and develop a common international approach to control the illicit spread of these weapons. Equally important is the need to address the underlying causes of conflicts in general, including issues of poverty and underdevelopment as well as socio-political issues.

My country, Nigeria recognizes the importance of this subject matter, and has initiated action at various levels to combat the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons. At the national level, Nigeria has put in place practical measures to tackle the problem with the establishment of the National Committee on Small Arms and Light Weapons. Last year, Nigeria declared the first day of the United Nations Conference on Small Arms as Small Arms Destruction Day in conformity with the decision reached at the Preparatory Committee of the Conference.

At the subregional level, Nigeria joined other countries members of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in October 1998, to declare a three-year moratorium on the import, export and manufacture of small arms and light weapons. This was accompanied by a Programme for Coordination and Assistance on Security and Development in order to address the security and development problems associated with the proliferation of these weapons in West Africa. ECOWAS has renewed the moratorium for a second three-year period with effect from 5 July 2001. My delegation wishes to reiterate our call to the international community to support the implementation of the moratorium. We also urge other regions to follow the example of ECOWAS by imposing similar moratoriums in their respective regions.

At the regional level, Nigeria joined other African countries in December 2000 to adopt the Bamako ministerial declaration containing Africa's common position on the illicit proliferation, circulation and trafficking in small arms and light weapons. We take this opportunity to reaffirm our belief in the principles enunciated in the declaration, including the one that calls on the international community, particularly arms-supplier countries, to limit the trade in small arms to Governments and registered licensed traders.

As part of our efforts in this area, Nigeria, along with South Africa, Mali, Kenya, Norway, Austria, Canada, Switzerland, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, sponsored the African Conference on the Implementation of the United Nations Programme of Action on Small Arms: Needs and Partnerships, which took place in Pretoria, South Africa, from 18 to 21 March this year. The Conference brought to the fore the need for the Security Council to pay particular attention to this problem.

It is our strong belief that efforts aimed at addressing the problem should be multidimensional if they are to succeed. The international community should demonstrate its sincere will to rid the world of these weapons by enacting appropriate international legislation to control arms transfers. This should include mechanisms that would facilitate the identification of such transfers. It is also important that such mechanisms ensure appropriate sanctions against manufacturers and suppliers that violate relevant global regulations. This calls for transparency and confidence-building measures.

Of even greater importance is the need for us, as members of the international community, to promote conflict prevention measures and the pursuit of negotiated solution to conflicts. Our emphasis should be on promoting structures and processes that strengthen democracy, human rights, the rule of law and good governance, as well as economic recovery and growth, as means of eliminating conflicts and generating durable peace. It is evident from this that our task in this area is enormous and calls for genuine commitment and concerted action on the part of the global community.

The President: (*spoke in French*): I thank the representative of Nigeria for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Denmark. I invite her to take a seat at the Council table and to make her statement.

Ms. Løj (Denmark): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union (EU). The countries of Central and Eastern Europe associated with the European Union — Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia — and the associated countries, Cyprus, Malta and Turkey, as well as the European Free Trade Association country of the European Economic Area, Iceland, align themselves with this statement.

Mr. President, thank you for convening this open debate of the Security Council. Currently more than 500 million small arms and light weapons are estimated to be in circulation worldwide. The uncontrolled accumulation and spread of these weapons have devastating political, social, economic and humanitarian consequences. The issue calls for urgent international action. The European Union would like to emphasize the importance of addressing the problem at all levels: national, regional and international. Today's debate in the Council is therefore timely and, indeed, necessary.

The EU actively seeks to alleviate the human suffering caused by these weapons. First and foremost, we need to counter the illicit trade and proliferation of small arms and light weapons. The European Union played an active part in the 2001 United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects. We engaged constructively in the elaboration of the United Nations Programme of Action. We had hoped for a stronger Programme. We especially would have liked to see firmer commitments in regard to export controls, stockpile management, marking and tracing, as well as brokering. However, we must now look ahead. In this regard, the EU welcomes the emergence of new partnerships among States, civil society and non-governmental organizations as a follow-up to the Conference.

The European Union actively pursues the prompt implementation of the Programme of Action. This is not only a disarmament issue. The problem is multi-dimensional and should be addressed accordingly. We remain committed to an effective, ambitious and continuous follow-up process leading, through the biennial meetings to be held in 2003 and 2005, to the review conference to be held in 2006. The EU stands ready to assume responsibility in this process. The meeting in 2003 will be the first occasion to take stock of the progress made. Stock-taking must be dynamic and operational. The outcome should include proposals for strengthening and further developing the measures contained in the Programme of Action. Legally binding commitments on marking and tracing, as well as on brokering, should be further pursued. That must be followed up in 2005. Only thus will we be able to achieve concrete results and to further our initial goals at the 2006 review conference.

The EU commends the Secretary-General for his report (S/2002/1053) on small arms. We welcome his recommendations. They are well founded and constructive, and they merit implementation. We remain convinced that initiatives by Member States, by the General Assembly, by the Security Council and by all other relevant bodies and organs must be mutually reinforcing.

On behalf of the European Union I would like to thank the Security Council for its decisions and actions thus far with regard to small arms and light weapons. The EU encourages the Security Council to continue its ongoing efforts and to add impetus to implementation at the operational level. As a first step, the EU would propose that the Council concentrate its efforts on a limited number of the recommendations. First, in order to ensure concrete effects, the Council should encourage Member States to enforce all its sanctions resolutions, including those that impose arms embargoes, and it should call for investigation of alleged violations of those embargoes. Secondly, the Council should continue to strengthen the provisions in its mandates for peacekeeping operations on the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants, as well as measures for the collection and destruction of illicit and surplus weapons. Finally, the Council should establish monitoring mechanisms under each relevant Council resolution in order to further ensure implementation. The European Union, for its part, stands ready to contribute to, and to support efforts towards, a world free of the illicit trade in and proliferation of these weapons.

The EU Joint Action on Small Arms and Light Weapons constitutes the overall framework for EU policy within that field. It stipulates a set of principles

and measures that the EU will pursue in relevant international and regional forums, and it contains provisions for technical and financial assistance. The Union is continuously developing the Joint Action in the light of experience. Thus far, we have had success in a wide variety of projects, but we can improve — and we will do so. Therefore, the EU, in July 2002, decided to extend the scope of the Action's application to include ammunition. We look forward to and welcome any initiatives on strengthening our common efforts in the fight against the spread of small arms and light weapons in an effective and lasting way.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of India. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Nambiar (India): We thank you, Mr. President, for convening this open debate of the Security Council on small arms and for allowing us to speak so early in the afternoon.

India is particularly aware of the complexity and the lethality of the problems associated with the accumulation, dispersal and transfer of illicit small arms and light weapons. As we have stated in the past, the trade in small arms is licit only if their export and import take place through official, legal channels. Arms exported by a Government that violates none of its own laws are nevertheless illicit if they are sent to non-State actors in another country, bypassing or subverting laws there.

During the past decade, illicit weapons have been the weapons of choice in an overwhelming number of major conflicts. Annually, small arms claim between 300,000 and 500,000 lives, of which the overwhelming percentage are civilian lives — many of those the lives of women and children. In India, we are particularly conscious of the lethality of such weapons. Over the past two decades, more than 35,000 innocent people have fallen victim to the depredations of terrorists using illicit weapons. The seizures of small arms and explosives by the Government of India make it abundantly clear to us that that illicit pool is of a magnitude and of a sophistication that require urgent and serious attention on the part of all law-abiding societies.

In his report on the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in all its aspects (A/57/160), the Secretary-General has provided an overview of the activities undertaken under the auspices of the United Nations to implement General Assembly resolution 56/24 V, adopted by the Assembly on 24 December 2001. That report, which covers the period from June 2001 to June 2002, includes actions taken to implement the Programme of Action adopted at the United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, held in New York in July 2001.

India is privileged to be playing a leading role as Chairman of the Group of Governmental Experts established by the Secretary-General to examine the feasibility of developing an international instrument to enable States to identify and trace, in a timely and reliable manner, illicit small arms and light weapons. The Group of Governmental Experts has held the first of its three mandated sessions, and it has been able to identify a number of elements of common understanding, on which work will continue at its forthcoming sessions. The Group will submit its findings to the Secretary-General during the fifty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

India welcomes the report of the Secretary-General contained in document S/2002/1053, which reflects recent initiatives taken by the Security Council. We were also pleased to hear the statement by Under-Secretary-General Jayantha Dhanapala. The Secretary-General's report identifies areas where further action by the Council is required in addressing the global problem of illicit small arms and light weapons. It emphasizes the key role of the Council in preventing, combating and eliminating the uncontrolled spread of such weapons. In his report, the Secretary-General has listed a number of recommendations based on suggestions made by Member States. We find many of them to be very useful. Some of them are directly addressed to the Council. We trust that the Council will take appropriate further action with respect to the recommendations that are directly within its competence. We also hope that the Council will consider ways of enhancing its cooperation with the General Assembly on these issues.

We note other initiatives taken, including the joint initiative by France and Switzerland to define a political arrangement on cooperation with regard to the traceability of illicit small arms and light weapons, as well as to the voluntary furnishing of information by States on implementation of the agreed Programme of Action. India fully supports the first step of developing

a comprehensive tracing system and enhancing cooperation among States towards that end. In this connection, we see the need to strengthen the effectiveness of the Interpol Weapons and Explosives Tracking System. We similarly recognize the role played by the Coordinating Action on Small Arms mechanism in highlighting how illicit small arms and light weapons have actually prolonged conflicts and, indeed, prevented the re-establishment of peace in various conflict areas around the world.

A collective and cooperative initiative by the international community needs the participation not only of Governments, but also of concerned non-governmental organizations and agencies and of elements of civil society at large, in order to provide the most effective framework to fight the scourge of illicit small arms and light weapons. The Secretary-General has commended not only the consolidation of existing partnerships between States and civil society organs around concrete actions, but also the emergence of new partnerships.

The area of the linkages among the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons, the illicit exploitation of natural and other resources and the trade in narcotic drugs is an important one. Over the past decade, the Council has established embargoes to cut off the supply of arms to non-State actors.

Where these have been bypassed, the Council has authorized investigations which uncovered the criminal networks established across continents which are being used to sell diamonds and supply arms, as well as for the export of drugs in furtherance of terrorist interests. We would urge the Council to continue to take initiatives to monitor relevant areas with regard to embargoes and to tackle the problem in all its aspects. The cooperation and sharing, among Member States and among various bodies under the Council, of information on arms traffickers that have violated embargoes established by the Council would be a step in building up a coordinated approach. This also demands the attention of the Council, the General Assembly and other relevant bodies of the United Nations. For its part, the international community too must generously support economic programmes of rehabilitation to encourage the surrender of illegal arms.

Perhaps only around 1 per cent of the global supply of small arms is illicitly held, but that amounts to more than six million weapons. That is an alarming figure, considering that they are held by criminals, terrorists, armed insurgents, secessionists and other non-State actors. While three fourths of the global trade in small arms is legal, illicit trade in weapons and ammunition accounts for about $1.5 billion a year.

Further, small arms are now ever more easy to use, lighter and more lethal, and their users need little or no training to use them to devastating effect to their societies and economies. Governments that desire to protect their societies from this problem must take the necessary national measures to introduce and monitor vigorous standards and conditions on private holdings of such weapons. All responsible States must undertake an obligation not to supply such weapons to non-State actors. Manufacturers and exporters should be subject to the strictest controls. There should be the strictest insistence on authenticated end-user certificates to ensure effective control over the export and transit of such weapons. The international community, for its part, must ensure that the trade in arms must, as in the case of the rest of the international trade, flow only through channels authorized by both the exporting and the importing Governments.

It is ammunition and explosives that kill. Arms are only the means of delivery. This must be factored into any work done by the international community to tackle, comprehensively, the issue of small arms and light weapons.

We welcome the initiative of the Security Council in convening this open debate on small arms and light weapons and trust that the Council will take effective and practical steps to take forward the endeavours of the United Nations in support of the implementation of the Programme of Action adopted at last year's United Nations Conference on Small Arms and Light Weapons that would check the availability and use of illicit small arms in fuelling and sustaining conflict and terrorism.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of South Africa. I invite her to take a seat at the Council table and to make her statement.

Ms. Ndhlovu (South Africa): I wish to make use of this opportunity, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. It gives my delegation particular pleasure to see the representative of a fellow African country, Cameroon, presiding over the debate

on the important issue that is on the agenda of today's meeting of the Security Council.

South Africa also wishes to thank the Secretary-General for his report on small arms, document (S/2002/1053), and wishes to express its appreciation of the Security Council's continued interest in this matter.

My delegation notes with some concern that, just over a year after the adoption of the Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, we are still faced with the proliferation and excessive accumulation of those weapons.

The Programme of Action on small arms that was adopted in July 2001 sets out the steps that we as Member States need to take at the national, regional and global levels in order to prevent, combat and eradicate the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in all its aspects. With its adoption we recognized and highlighted the problems associated with those weapons by placing them on the international agenda, but we have now gone beyond that stage and must move towards long-term, concrete action. South Africa believes that the Programme of Action remains the only globally recognized framework that we now have for the implementation of the commitments that we as Member States made in July last year.

The proliferation and excessive accumulation of small arms and light weapons around the world — and particularly in Africa, where they are still the weapons of choice in intra-State conflict — have not abated. These internal conflicts on our continent are by their very nature particularly violent in character; and the impact that they have on civilian populations is catastrophic. Not only do women, children and the elderly fall victim to violence, but those that are able to flee are often forced to do so, with the result that those internally displaced people are no longer economically active. The adverse impact that this has on social and economic development in these countries is incalculable and often takes decades to overcome.

In Africa, our New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) includes a peace and security initiative that maps out the promotion on our continent of long-term conditions for development and security. In that context, we as Africans aim to build our continent's capacity to manage these conflicts by strengthening our existing regional and subregional institutions to deal with conflict prevention, management and resolution; peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace enforcement; post-conflict reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction; and combating the illicit proliferation of small arms and light weapons.

The heads of State or Government of the African Union have this year also expressed their concern that no single factor has contributed more to socio-economic decline in Africa and to the suffering of civilian populations than the scourge of conflicts within and between States. In that regard, they adopted a Protocol to the Constitutive Act of the African Union whereby a Peace and Security Council was established in the Union, as a standing decision-making organ for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts. The Peace and Security Council will serve as a collective early warning body to facilitate prompt and effective responses to crisis situations in Africa.

We are encouraged by the developments in Angola this year and, more recently, in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Yet, at the same time, we are faced with enormous challenges. I have just referred to a comprehensive approach to post-conflict peace initiatives, as set out in NEPAD. To that end, diplomacy and concrete efforts to disarm, demobilize and reintegrate ex-combatants are integral to this approach. Our experience in Southern Africa has showed that, paradoxically, illicit transfers of small arms pose a potentially bigger threat to neighbouring countries when a country is emerging from civil strife than while it is involved in such strife. Accordingly, South Africa fully supports the Secretary-General's recommendations relating to disarmament, demobilization and reintegration initiatives and the need to include measures relating to such efforts in the texts of peace agreements.

South Africa believes that, of all the levels at which the Programme of Action should be fully implemented, none is as important as the need to focus on national implementation measures. Without a concerted effort to implement — where they do not exist or are not functioning effectively — systems that are aimed at controlling legal arms transfers and thereby contributing to preventing and eradicating illicit arms transfers, our collective endeavours to do so at the regional and global levels will be futile.

In this context, my delegation welcomes the Secretary-General's recommendation that States should establish the necessary legislative and administrative measures, including the use of authenticated end-user certificates, to ensure effective control over arms transfers. South Africa has adopted a strict policy on this issue, and the legislative framework for this policy, the National Conventional Arms Control Bill, has been approved by our National Assembly and is nearing the final stages of adoption.

My delegation also supports the Secretary-General's recommendation that efforts be made to develop an international instrument to trace illicit small arms and light weapons. In this context, South Africa is pursuing these efforts through its participation in the group of governmental experts established by General Assembly resolution 56/24 V, entitled "The illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in all its aspects", to examine the feasibility of developing such an international instrument. It is our hope that this expert group will come up with concrete recommendations at the fifty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

We are also encouraged by the Secretary-General's recommendation for enhanced interaction between the General Assembly and the Security Council on the issue of small arms. While we also recognize that both organs of our Organization have distinct mandates and roles, we would caution against embarking on separate or parallel courses of action on this issue that would duplicate our undertakings in terms of the Programme of Action.

Finally, South Africa also supports the Secretary-General's recommendations regarding arms embargoes and related Security Council sanctions. South Africa believes that not only is it incumbent upon all Member States to respect and abide by these, but that their full implementation will rigorously curtail the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in all its aspects. The Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on the Control of Firearms, Ammunition and Other Related Materials calls upon its member States to enact the necessary legislation and other measures to sanction the violation of Security Council arms embargoes, and our domestic draft legislation, to which I have just referred, also contains such a provision.

In conclusion, South Africa believes that the Security Council plays, and will continue to play, an indispensable role in preventing, combating and eradicating the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in all its aspects and in the implementation of the Programme of Action on small arms. Accordingly, we trust that the Council will remain seized of this matter.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of Indonesia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Thayeb (Indonesia): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Indonesia, I would like to express my appreciation to you for convening this meeting on what is, for us, a very crucial subject. We would also like to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General for his lucid report and to Under-Secretary-General Dhanapala for introducing it. The report has highlighted the role of the Security Council in combating the global menace posed by the illicit trade in small arms, which has been taken into account in its consideration of conflict-prevention, peacekeeping and peace-building activities.

The report also contains numerous recommendations which warrant our careful attention. My delegation wishes to note in particular the recommendation to consider modalities to enhance the interaction between the General Assembly and the Security Council, especially in the context of the Programme of Action adopted by the July 2001 United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects.

We are focusing our attention on the issue of small arms in the Security Council today because the only thing that continues to be small about small arms is probably their physical size. However, these arms continue to be big in stature, as they are big business and bring big profits. As a result, they continue to be a big problem. In every corner of the world, especially in the developing world, and particularly in areas of armed conflict, small arms continue to cause horrendous misery to families and are a significant cause of humanitarian distress. The deaths, injuries, forced displacement and the loss of homes, property and jobs they cause defy rational explanation.

There are also new areas of concern that merit the close attention of the international community. Many humanitarian agencies are reconsidering the previously sacrosanct principles of neutrality and impartiality as small arms proliferation endangers their activities and

personnel. The humanitarian impact of small arms is escalating in magnitude and severity, largely as a result of the eruption of new conflicts facilitated by the continuing availability and use of small arms. Such impacts are difficult to quantify because of poor or non-existent data-collection facilities and insufficient international attention and concern.

This is a grim picture in every respect. It is a combination of humanitarian, security and economic problems that demand the utmost in international cooperation. It is reassuring that the basis for such a response already exists. The July 2001 United Nations Conference on Small Arms referred to earlier adopted a Programme of Action, which is to be implemented at the national, regional and global levels.

Today, Indonesia reiterates its support for, and its commitment to, the Programme as a first step in a comprehensive scheme to address this problem definitively. In our view, at this stage, the Organization should focus on the implementation of measures contained in the Programme before any new or additional measures are agreed upon. Furthermore, the issue of small arms is one in which the potential for multilateral action must be not only recognized but also self-evident.

Following that Conference, the Government of Indonesia convened a workshop in Bogor last November to map out its national response. The primary aim was to introduce the Programme of Action to participating stakeholders, including governmental and non-governmental institutions, and to promote its internalization. It was also aimed at identifying the concrete legal, administrative, institutional and preventive measures that Indonesia can take in implementing the Programme.

As a result, there now exists a national consensus that its implementation should be pursued in a gradual manner, taking national capacity into consideration. It would ultimately depend upon strengthening national capacity-building through international cooperation, which is essential when national resources are limited. In addition, the establishment of a national focal point has recently been suggested to coordinate the implementation of the Programme of Action. There is also a need for the establishment of a national database to assemble information on the production, registration, circulation, mapping and transfer cycle of small arms and light weapons. Regional and bilateral cooperation, especially with neighbouring States, are essential in this regard.

At the global level, Indonesia is aware of the need for States and the World Customs Organization to enhance cooperation with the International Criminal Police Organization to identify those groups and individuals engaged in the illicit trade of small arms. Equally important is the promotion of such cooperation and coordination among States, regional and international organizations, as well as civil society, including non-governmental organizations, in combating this menace. My delegation is also aware of the value of education and public-awareness programmes on the problems posed by illicit trade in small arms by promoting dialogue among relevant constituencies for a culture of peace.

These are imperatives that are close to the heart of Indonesia, and on which we intend to work in unity with other States and the United Nations so as to ensure that the problem of small arms, and their needless humanitarian consequences, are addressed in the shortest possible time. It must be recalled that this issue is so important that it forms an integral part of the Millennium Declaration, which called for concerted action by the international community.

Before concluding, as referred to earlier by the representative of Japan, my delegation wishes to inform members that Indonesia, in cooperation with the United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs, will host a regional seminar to consider the implementation of the Programme of Action, followed by a workshop on transparency in armaments, in February 2003.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of Argentina, whom I invite to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Cappagli (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): My delegation is pleased to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We also welcome this opportunity to take up the item of small arms and light weapons. We thank the Secretary-General for his report on this item.

The presence of more small arms and light weapons than are necessary for defence and security in various parts of the world, particularly the illicit trafficking in small arms, often associated with

instability, is an age-old problem and complex in nature. To resolve this matter, we must have an integrated and proportionate approach, based on security and development.

Fortunately, valuable proposals and processes are under way at various levels, but what we need now is cooperation at all levels. This will be a key element in efforts to combat illicit trafficking, and also to prevent and curb the proliferation of small arms and light weapons.

The Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, adopted last July, crystallized the political will of the international community to tackle this item. It also laid the basis for dealing with the humanitarian and economic dimensions of the problems caused by small arms and light weapons. Member States thereby undertook to cooperate with the United Nations system to actually implement the arms embargoes imposed by the Security Council under the Charter.

At the same time, the Council was urged to look, in each individual case, at the possibility of including in the mandates and budgets of peacekeeping operations, where necessary, relevant provisions on disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of ex-combatants.

We welcome the innovative steps taken by the Security Council to enhance compliance with arms embargoes — for example, the monitoring mechanisms and the panels of experts.

Turning to the observations and recommendations in the Secretary-General's report, I would like to offer the following comments: we support the idea of drafting an international instrument to enable States to identify and trace small arms and light weapons in a timely and responsible way, and we think it appropriate that States, as required, use the Interpol weapons and explosives tracking system and to provide technical and financial support to it.

I would take the opportunity of asking for more details about the small arms advisory service that the Secretariat is considering setting up using extrabudgetary resources. We would be interested in knowing what exactly this advisory service would be.

We definitely believe the Security Council and the General Assembly should study ways of improving interaction on matters relating to small arms, so as to promote the preparation of long-term strategies within the context of conflict prevention and peace-building, and also within the context of the Programme of Action.

We believe that Recommendation 5 is fundamental in the sense that it would call on Member States to apply all the Security Council resolutions on sanctions. We also welcome the request for regular reports by some of the sanctions Committees to Member States on the measures adopted to implement the resolutions.

We agree that the Security Council should continue its efforts to determine existing links between illicit small arms and light weapons trafficking, the illicit exploitation of natural resources, among others, drug trafficking and armed conflict. We also believe the Council could prepare innovative strategies to tackle this phenomenon, and we think it appropriate that the Council help in detecting the manufacture of and illicit trafficking in such weapons. We would draw attention to the work done by the panels of experts on Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Sierra Leone in this connection.

Recommendations on disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants should, in our opinion, be complemented with conflict-prevention measures, and also measures to prevent the recurrence of conflict. For, after all, weapons are only the tools that exacerbate it. We would reiterate the advisability of using authenticated end-user certificates. This is a commitment that Member States have already undertaken to provide under the Programme of Action. It would be one of the measures for action at the national level.

Swift and strict implementation of embargoes by the Security Council, and adoption of coercive measures against Member States that violate these embargoes, would be a significant contribution to combating the scourge of small arms and light weapons. Argentina strongly favours transparency in armaments as a way of promoting stability and reducing tensions. In our view, the concept of transparency also applies to small arms and light weapons.

We fully agree with those that maintain that States themselves have the primary responsibility for handling the problems caused by small arms and light

weapons. Therefore, we believe that emphasis should be placed on the responsibility and cooperation dimension between Member States and the various bodies of the United Nations system, within the context of their respective fields, to strengthen any action aimed at controlling and eradicating the illicit arms traffic in those weapons at the global level.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the representative of Argentina for his kind words expressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Canada. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Westdal (Canada) (*spoke in French*): Canada welcomes the Secretary-General's report on small arms and the action it recommends to curb their proliferation.

We especially value its recognition that human security, the safety of people and their communities, is the central goal of small arms policy and action; it is the point of controlling licit flows of those arms, curbing illicit trafficking and destroying excess weapons. That is why, to make them effective, embargoes against weapons must be respected and truly imposed.

We are gratified that several of the recommendations we made in the Security Council debate on small arms last year have been incorporated in the report's recommendations. We also wanted funded provisions for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) in Security Council peacekeeping mandates and protection for children in peace agreements. We had also emphasized that control of natural resources like oil and diamonds could fuel deadly violence. We also commended Interpol's Weapons and Explosives Tracking System, which the Royal Canadian Mounted Police helped develop. In all those respects, we think we've been heard.

(*spoke in English*)

The priority now, a year after the United Nations Conference, is to implement the Programme of Action. We want the biennial meetings in 2003 and 2005 and the next full conference in 2006 to have real impact worldwide against small arms proliferation. We think that that necessitates international conviction and action to contend with the problems of all small arms trade, not just its illicit dimensions.

There has been heartening progress over the last year, notably in developing legislation, in promoting technology for marking and tracing, in coming to grips with harmful brokering and in weapon collection and destruction. We want the meeting next year to swell that momentum by fostering productive cooperation between States, regional organizations and non-governmental organizations.

For our part, Canada has been active. With host countries and partners, we sponsored seminars and encouraged non-governmental organizations in San Jose, Pretoria, Manila and several Central Asian centres. Presiding over the G-8, we promoted local, national and regional security sector reform in the G-8 Africa Action Plan. We underwrote the Canada/West Africa Peace and Security Initiative to professionalize institutions responsible for the protection of public safety. We supported small arms and human security projects in South and South-East Asia and helped study the socio-economic impact of small arms availability and use in Pacific Island States and the links between foreign direct investment and small arms-related crime and violence.

Through the Biting the Bullet series, we supported essential public briefings on arms embargoes. We have also been proud to support the truly outstanding work of the Geneva-based Small Arms Survey, producing global baseline data for policy formulation and results measurement, emphasizing the devastating human impact of small arms proliferation.

While we are pleased to cite significant early success in implementing the Programme of Action, we must not forget that the United Nations Conference was unable to address several key dimensions of the problems we confront, including the regulation of civilian possession and transfers to non-State actors. We thus believe policy and action against small arms proliferation should be based on, but not limited to, the Programme of Action.

In that context, we particularly welcome those elements of the Secretary-General's report that re-energize debate and transcend the Conference agenda. Several, noteworthy, warrant our robust support: the establishment of an international instrument to enable States to identify and trace illicit small arms and light weapons; legislative, administrative and related measures to ensure effective control over the export and transit of small arms and

light weapons, a critical responsibility of all States; the effective monitoring and enforcement of United Nations arms embargoes, including coercive measures applied as needed to regimes and individuals; enhanced transparency in arms transactions, which is particularly timely, given the tenth anniversary this month of the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms; and recognition of the link between the spread of illicit small arms and human rights violations, which is essential to any comprehensive understanding of the impact of small arms on human security.

Canada's view is that the Secretary-General's report enhances our comprehension and our prospects for effective action against the cruel contagion of small arms and light weapons proliferation. We think the report will enrich our debate and deepen our commitment for years to come.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Switzerland. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Staehelin (Switzerland) (*spoke in French*): The illicit trade in small arms and light weapons represents a threat to human security in certain regions of the world. Switzerland expresses its satisfaction at the success of the 2001 United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects. The biennial meeting in 2003 will present the first opportunity to examine the progress achieved in implementing the United Nations Programme of Action.

Over the last few months, Switzerland's international efforts have been concentrated on four aspects of the problem of small arms: marking and tracing, support for centres of competence, promotion of innovative approaches such as dealing with non-State actors, and in particular, national and regional implementation of the United Nations Programme of Action on small arms. In that last category, I wish to mention Switzerland's support for the recent conference in Pretoria on the implementation of the Programme of Action in Africa and our financing of seminars in Latin America. Switzerland welcomes the Secretary-General's report (S/2002/1053) and recommendations on small arms of 20 September, presented by Under-Secretary-General Dhanapala, and notes with satisfaction that the efforts deployed to date by Switzerland fall within the lines of action the report prescribes.

A certain number of the report's recommendations, in our view, are of particular importance. In his recommendation 1, the Secretary-General expresses the wish that we support efforts to elaborate an international instrument that would allow States to identify and trace illicit small arms and light weapons in a timely and reliable manner. The French-Swiss initiative, previously mentioned by the French delegation, falls into that category. In that context, I also wish to recall the work of the United Nations Group of Governmental Experts on Tracing Small Arms and Light Weapons. Switzerland expects that it will provide a useful contribution to the elaboration of a binding international instrument in this field.

For Switzerland, the issue of small arms is an important aspect of integrated conflict-prevention strategies, peace-building and development cooperation. One of the great challenges in implementing the United Nations Programme of Action will be to make the issue of small arms a theme cutting across other political questions. Switzerland welcomes the Secretary-General's insistence on the necessity of an integrated approach, in particular in recommendation 4. In the same vein, recommendations 7 and 8 seek to extend the mandate of United Nations peacekeeping operations to the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants, as well as to specific measures concerning the collection and destruction of illicit or surplus small arms. Switzerland has already undertaken intensive activities in this respect, for example in Mozambique and Sierra Leone.

Finally, recommendation 5 refers to an aspect of the problem which Switzerland considers a priority. The Secretary-General underlines the role of information on small arms and invites Member States to pursue their efforts in this context. For some years now, Switzerland has supported, together with other States, the Small Arms Survey project in Geneva, which led, earlier this year and for the second time, to the publication of a yearbook which we consider very useful: Small Arms Survey 2002: Counting the Human Cost. Switzerland will continue in the future to support this essential work. I have the pleasure of announcing that, following what was done in English in Johannesburg, the French version of the yearbook will be presented to the public in New York on 24 October.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Jamaica. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Neil (Jamaica): To begin, I take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. In view of the many preoccupations of the moment, you obviously have a difficult task on your hands, but you have our confidence and our support in guiding the work of the Council.

It was a little over a year ago that the Council considered issues relating to small arms and light weapons, when Jamaica was still a member of the Council. It was an important initiative and a recognition that illegal traffic in those weapons plays a significant role in the continuation and prevalence of conflicts, which have such disastrous economic, social and humanitarian consequences. It was rightly recognized by the Council on that occasion that there needed to be some practical recommendations on ways in which to deal with the illicit traffic in small weapons. Those proposals are now before the Council, and I wish to commend the Secretary-General for his report contained in document S/2002/1053 and to thank the Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs for the comprehensive briefing he provided this morning on this issue.

We have reviewed the report of the Secretary-General and the twelve recommendations contained therein. In general, they are useful and constructive proposals, although in some areas action could be taken further. There is obvious need to lift the profile and level of attention given to this issue in the United Nations system. Paragraphs 3 and 4 of the report are instructive in highlighting the role of small arms and light weapons in conflicts during the 1990s and especially in relation to their heavy toll on civilian lives. When we add their use in criminal and terrorist activities, the statistics can be even more frightening. We therefore would have liked to see the recommendations go further in advancing international action and in increasing the obligations of Member States, particularly those engaged in the manufacture and trade of those weapons. There is need for greater control and internal regulation of the production and transfer of small arms and light weapons. Jamaica supports the early elaboration of an international agreement that would tighten those controls and provide mechanisms for the registration, identification and tracing of small arms. The process, which is currently in the hands of the Group of Experts, needs to be speeded up to arrive at an early draft international agreement for consideration and adoption by the international community.

The recommendation for increased interaction between the General Assembly and the Security Council on ways in which to deal with the illicit traffic in small arms and light weapons obviously needs to be pursued. An integrated approach would avoid duplication of mandates and would also ensure greater effectiveness, particularly in the provision and sharing of information and in the development of effective coordinated strategies.

We have continually emphasized the linkages between the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons and narco-trafficking, terrorism and transnational organized crime. Those linkages are now well recognized. While acknowledging the tremendous work done on those areas by various expert groups, there is need for more action by Member States to tighten controls on the manufacture and transfer of weapons. That is made even more necessary in these times as a result of the impact of globalization, which has facilitated illegal transactions across borders and has increased the need for regulation and improvements in detection. There has to be more accountability and stricter methods of control at the source and at the points of origin. Additionally, in the case of the States that are most affected, there is need for the provision of material and technical assistance for the development of training and monitoring mechanisms to control transit of those weapons across borders.

With regard to punitive measures, we support more consistent action at both the international and national levels. Those involved in the illegal arms trade — suppliers, purchasers, brokers, financiers and facilitators — should be exposed and punished. Recommendation 11 refers to the use of coercive measures. We are not sure of the scope which is contemplated under this proposal, but it would be important that these be applied across the board, and not on a selective basis, wherever and whenever governmental complicity has been proved.

With regard to the role of the Department for Disarmament Affairs, significant work is being done in conjunction with other relevant United Nations departments and agencies in the implementation of the Programme of Action. The Coordinating Action on Small Arms mechanism is playing a useful role in promoting the implementation of the Programme of Action, along with other United Nations departments and agencies, especially the United Nations International Drug Control Programme. Jamaica is also of the view that the establishment of a small arms advisory service would enhance this coordination through the provision of relevant advice and the formulation of relevant programmes. We therefore support this initiative and we encourage the provision of the necessary resources and assistance required for such a service.

As the incidence of war and conflict continues to be a disturbing factor in the international environment, the challenges posed to international stability and the humanitarian consequences caused by the problem of small arms must remain high on the international agenda. Efforts to eliminate the illegal traffic should continue at all levels in order to ensure peace and stability in the world. The Security Council has a critical part to play and Jamaica can be relied on to give its support to the Council in taking decisive action.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of Namibia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Andjaba (Namibia): Allow me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on assuming the presidency of the Security Council and on convening this important meeting. I also wish to thank the Secretary-General for his report on small arms and for the valuable recommendations contained therein. My appreciation also goes to the Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs for introducing the report.

Although slow progress has been made, in particular since the international community started to address the problem of small arms in a comprehensive manner, the easy availability of small arms worldwide continues to create havoc throughout the world, especially in Africa. They threaten peace and security and are responsible for countless numbers of deaths and injuries. Small arms are now estimated to kill half a million people every year. They have a devastating impact on every part of society, in particular vulnerable groups, such as children and women.

Furthermore, small arms have a profound impact on the social and economic development of countries. Despite the urgent need to fight poverty and diseases, such as HIV/AIDS, a lot of money continues to be spent on the production and accumulation of these weapons.

The United Nations last year took a strong stand in addressing the scourge at the Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects. The Conference adopted by consensus the Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects. The success in the implementation of the Programme of Action can now be seen in the national reports and implementation activities of Member States. The Programme of Action is indeed not an end in itself, but the starting point of comprehensive national, regional and international efforts to address the problem.

We were, however, disappointed that the Conference failed to achieve agreement on two core issues relating to the problem of small arms and light weapons, namely, strict control over private ownership and the supply of small arms to non-State groups. These issues are so critical to the curtailment of small arms that the international community will have to address them at one point or another. My delegation looks forward to the biennial meeting to be held in 2003 and the Review Conference to be held by 2006 to take stock of progress and to consider further and more effective measures to combat the illicit traffic in small arms and light weapons.

With regard to the implementation of the Programme of Action, several initiatives have been taken in the subregion of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), such as the adoption of the SADC Protocol on Firearms, Ammunition and Other Related Materials. Namibia has already ratified the SADC Protocol and this week held a national conference on its implementation. The main objective of the conference was for civil society organizations and government officials to discuss the creation of a long-term sustainable national plan of action for arms management and disarmament that

would be in compliance with the international and regional obligations agreed to by Namibia.

My Government also hosted the United Nations Workshop on Transparency in Armaments in Windhoek in June this year. The Workshop was sponsored by the Governments of Canada, Germany, Japan and the Netherlands and was attended by Government officials from countries in our subregion. The Workshop succeeded in creating greater awareness and participation in arms transparency instruments.

The Security Council has, in the implementation of its mandate to maintain international peace and security, helped to prevent the flow of arms to conflict areas through the imposition of embargoes and other measures. The effectiveness of the Council measures has been strengthened by panels of independent experts and monitoring mechanisms. In the southern African subregion, these efforts produced positive results against UNITA by reducing its military capacity.

Apart from stopping arms from reaching conflict areas, it is equally important to eradicate arms that are already in circulation in conflict situations. In this regard, it is crucial for the Council to include in the mandate of peacekeeping operations clear provisions regarding the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants, as well as specific measures for the collection and disposal of illicit and surplus small arms and light weapons. However, in order for these programmes to be consistent and successful, their financing needs to be strengthened through the expansion of measures under the budget for peacekeeping operations so that they are not entirely dependent upon voluntary contributions.

My delegation welcomes all the recommendations and observations in the Secretary-General's report. While many are already being implemented to a certain degree, it is clear that they should also be expanded and strengthened in order to have the maximum effect.

In conclusion, no country, region or organization can alone resolve the problems caused by small arms. Indeed, a collective effort is required, and those that lack the capacity should be provided with the tools to do so. We therefore hope that the General Assembly and the Security Council will continue to address the issue of small arms within their respective mandates. Namibia remains committed to fully implementing the measures contained in the Programme of Action adopted at the United Nations Conference on Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, as well as those adopted by the Security Council aimed at the maintenance of international peace and security.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the representative of Namibia for his kind words addressed to me.

Before giving the floor to the next speaker, I would like to inform members of the Council that it is my intention to hold consultations at the ambassadorial level following this meeting.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Senegal. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Fall (Senegal) (*spoke in French*): The presidential statement adopted by the Security Council on 24 September 1999 contains the following observation regarding the important issue under consideration today:

> "The Security Council notes with grave concern that the destabilizing accumulation of small arms has contributed to the intensity and duration of armed conflicts. The Council also notes that the easy availability of small arms can be a contributing factor to undermining peace agreements, complicating peace-building efforts and impeding political, economic and social development. In this regard, the Council acknowledges that the challenge posed by small arms is multifaceted and involves security, humanitarian and development dimensions." (*S/PRST/1999/28, second paragraph*)

As the Council is aware, and as the Group of Experts established in 1997 has stated, light weapons are so defined

> "because they are light and can be transported by a single or few individuals, by an animal or in a car".

An estimated 500 million small arms are said to be in circulation around the world. Easy to handle, inexpensive and durable, small arms and light weapons fuel criminality, undermine social development and give rise to innumerable humanitarian catastrophes. As the Secretary-General has noted, small arms were the weapons of choice in 46 of the 49 major conflicts that bloodied the planet in 1990 — which was 12 years ago, and therefore well before the genocide in Rwanda. In

that period, small arms and light weapons were responsible for the deaths of 4 million people, 90 per cent of whom were women and children. That figure is in addition to the 5 million persons handicapped and the tens of millions of people internally displaced as a result.

Although they are not the direct cause of conflict, small arms and light weapons are nevertheless the main factor in prolonging, perpetuating and aggravating conflict. They are therefore among the primary factors responsible for delays and deadlocks in the resolution of conflicts and in the implementation of painstakingly negotiated agreements.

In Africa these weapons are a real calamity, as they result in unspeakable, yet striking and observable, suffering. They also undermine national reconstruction efforts in many countries, promote every sort of trafficking and sap energy from legitimate economic and social development. This is particularly the case in the West Africa subregion, where these weapons are routinely recycled from one conflict to another by criminal gangs operating with the extra-continental complicity of veritable merchants of death and the active or passive complicity of notorious and pathetic warlords who are both shadowy and feared.

Aware of the gravity of this new plague contributing to the proliferation of flashpoints of tension — and in particular to the nourishing of many irredentist movements — the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), over which my country currently presides, has placed the fight against the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in all its aspects at the top of its Community-wide policy agenda.

The resolute commitment of West African countries led to the adoption by the ECOWAS summit held in Abuja in 1998 of the Moratorium on the Importation, Exportation and Manufacture of Small Arms and Light Weapons in West Africa. The Moratorium, which was endorsed by the Organization of African Unity at Lomé in July 2000, has been strengthened by the creation of a coordination and assistance programme in the area of security and development. The programme was created in close cooperation with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in order to create and disseminate a culture of peace, stability and shared security throughout the ECOWAS region.

It goes without saying that the initiatives that have been launched in our subregion and in Central Africa at the initiative of Cameroon to halt the proliferation of small arms and light weapons must be integrated in a comprehensive, coordinated and coherent manner into a large-scale international campaign to maximize the impact of these initiatives, for the sake of the well-being of all human kind.

As the Council is also aware, Secretary-General Kofi Annan — who, because of the massacres they provoke, has aptly equated small arms and light weapons with weapons of mass destruction — has condemned the paradox that,

> "unlike the case of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons, no global non-proliferation regime for light weapons has yet been established by the international community".

Nevertheless, the Senegalese delegation is pleased to note that the United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects was held in New York in July 2001. The Conference led to the adoption of an important Programme of Action that has served to strengthen the common African position on the basis of such approaches and regional initiatives as the Bamako moratorium.

While welcoming the central role of the United Nations in the success of that meeting and calling upon the Security Council to continue to actively consider the thorny problem of light weapons, Senegal would also like to point out that if we really want to put an end to this terrible scourge, the international community will have to encourage, support and perhaps even demand the implementation of at least five steps that are both radical and beneficial. I shall now describe them briefly.

The first step should be to reinforce the legal instruments to control the proliferation of light weapons and combat cross-border criminality; to strengthen regulations with regard to arms transfers; and to support the implementation of the code of conduct that has been proposed to the United Nations by the Nobel Peace laureate group.

Secondly, commercial transactions and arms brokerage activities should be carried out in a transparent manner, and annual reports on arms

transfers, including those of light weapons, should be published.

Thirdly, programmes for disarming, demobilizing and reintegrating former combatants should be promoted, national and regional capacities should be strengthened to supervise such disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes.

Fourthly, cooperation among producer and consumer States should be intensified and enhanced, producer States should officially renounce small arms transfers to consumers in countries or areas where a disarmament process is under way or a moratorium is in place.

Fifthly, a dual system of tracing and marking such weapons should be established.

It is thus clear that there is a long, steep, winding path ahead of us. The review conference, planned for 2006 at the latest, must yield tangible and meaningful progress if we do, indeed, wish to prevail in the bitter united struggle against the proliferation of small arms, with all its various ramifications and networks that are growing and prospering in the tentacular grip of this elusive force of devastation, this vile, multinational enterprise of crime — international terrorism.

Given that the stability of States and the well-being of peoples throughout the world, particularly in Africa — and, indeed, the very survival of humanity — are in jeopardy, this meeting of the Security Council under the eminent presidency of the Permanent Representative of that land of symbiosis, Cameroon, should give added impetus to our efforts to achieve our important objectives.

For several reasons of which you, Sir, are very well aware, the delegation of Senegal welcomes the fact that you are presiding over the Security Council during this crucial month of October 2002 — a month that will remain etched into the collective awareness of all of us — we the peoples of the United Nations. While conveying to you all my compliments and my sincere wishes for success, I should like to express my full conviction that you will honourably carry out the sacred, fruitful and lofty duty entrusted to your outstanding country at this very complex and sensitive moment in the history of humanity — the nexus between what has gone before and what is yet to come.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the representative of Senegal for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Kenya. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Ligabo (Kenya): It is with great pleasure, Sir, that my delegation extends its appreciation to you for convening a public meeting of the Security Council under the agenda item entitled "Small arms". My delegation welcomes and fully supports the report of the Secretary-General on this item, document S/2002/1053, particularly its recommendations on how to deal with the question of illicit small arms and light weapons. The report, which was excellently introduced by the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Dhanapala, points out that the spread of illicit small arms and light weapons is a global threat to human security and human rights. The report also underscores the fact that preventing, combating and eliminating the uncontrolled spread of these weapons constitutes one of the key tasks of the Security Council in discharging its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The world has come a long way — from apparent apathy to a deliberate and conscious effort to address the problems of small arms at the global level. That effort seeks to mitigate the enormous and ugly consequences that have continued to deny mankind the benefit of living free from threats and fear. My delegation is therefore convinced that the diversity of experience described at this public Security Council meeting will broaden our approach to the problems posed by illicit small arms.

Since the United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, held in July 2001, Kenya, as a country ravaged by the effects of illicit small arms, has been at the forefront in the war against the proliferation of illicit weapons. As noted by the Secretary-General in his report, there is no doubt that the United Nations Programme of Action adopted in July 2001 provides an adequate basis for further work at the national, regional and global levels, although there is a recognition that the primary responsibility for addressing the problem lies with States themselves.

I should like to share with the members of the Security Council the experience of our subregion on

this issue. As members may recall, the 10 countries of the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa signed the Nairobi Declaration in March 2000 and mandated the Kenyan Government to coordinate regional activities in combating the circulation of illicit small arms and to convene a Ministerial Review Conference on the Implementation of the Nairobi Declaration.

On 7 and 8 August 2002, the States parties to the Nairobi Declaration held the First Ministerial Review Conference on the Implementation of the Nairobi Declaration. The Conference brought together the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Rwanda, the Sudan, the United Republic of Tanzania and Uganda. The Conference reviewed progress made in the implementation of the provisions of the Nairobi Declaration and came up with specific recommendations on how existing international and regional initiatives could be harnessed for the realization of the objectives set out in the Declaration. With regard to priority actions and guidelines on regional and national implementation plans, the Ministers agreed to establish national focal points and make them operational by the end of 2002 and to develop national action plans to combat the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. The Conference also reaffirmed the political will of Governments in the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa to tackle the proliferation of illicit small arms.

At the national level, Kenya will continue to work in Nairobi together with a group of friends of the Nairobi Declaration, comprising development partners, led by the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, and non-governmental organizations and representatives of the United Nations system, to harmonize strategies and assistance to address the scourge of illicit small arms.

The problem of the illicit circulation of small arms is multifaceted. To address it effectively, we need to find out how, and by and for whom, these weapons are manufactured, traded and used. How do we deal with the driving force behind the demand for small arms? The unresolved question concerning the role played by State and non-State actors in the proliferation of small arms is whether it is an appropriate time to comprehensively address this problem.

My delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General for his timely decision to send a fact-finding mission to Kenya in August 2001 to study and evaluate the scope and magnitude of the problem of the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. We appeal to the Secretary-General to look into the recommendations of that mission with a view to implementing them. We are encouraged by the recent initiative of the Security Council on identifying areas where further action is required by the Council in addressing this global scourge. We support the recommendation made by the Secretary-General to the Security Council to support efforts aimed at developing an international instrument to enable States to identify and trace, in a timely and reliable manner, illicit small arms and light weapons.

Kenya welcomes with growing optimism the progress made in negotiations to settle long-standing conflicts in the southern Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Somalia and Burundi. Kenya will continue to spearhead efforts to resolve the conflicts in our subregion; I am happy to inform the Council that a peace conference on Somalia will be held in Eldoret, Kenya, on 15 October 2002. Furthermore, the southern Sudan peace process is scheduled to resume in Machakos, Kenya, later this month. Kenya's determination to support these efforts is predicated on a clear understanding that the resolution of these conflicts will immensely contribute to the reduction of the flow of illicit small arms in our subregion.

In conclusion, I wish to commend the Secretary-General once more for his report, which contains innovative measures to deal comprehensively with this problem. I further wish to appeal to all members of the Security Council and the international community at large to extend political, financial and technical support to regional initiatives in a spirit of true partnership, bearing in mind that we have a duty and responsibility to prevent, combat and eradicate the stockpiling of and illicit trafficking in small arms and light weapons. We should be a beacon of hope with which future generations will be proud to identify. For the sake of posterity, let us collectively work hard to tame the ferocity of this menace.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker is the representative of Zambia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Musambachime (Zambia): I wish once again to salute you, Mr. President, for convening this important meeting, which provides yet another opportunity for Member States to express their views on how the United Nations can best provide leadership in the search for peace and stability in the world. I recall that this is the second open meeting since your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. Given your immense diplomatic skill, I am confident that you will steer the deliberations of the Council on this item to a fruitful conclusion. Like your predecessor, my good friend the Permanent Representative of Bulgaria, Mr. Stefan Tafrov, you are committed to maintaining dialogue with Member States in order to enhance transparency and democracy in the work of the Security Council. This method should be maintained.

I also wish to commend you, Mr. President, for your selection of the topic under discussion. The issue of small arms requires the urgent attention of the United Nations, as these weapons are used in many of the conflicts around the world and are a cause of a very high loss of life, especially of women and children.

My delegation welcomes the report of the Secretary-General presented by the Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs this morning. We welcome his recommendations, which are well founded and instructive and which merit implementation as quickly as possible.

My delegation would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his report on the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in all its aspects, document A/57/160, which we found to contain useful information, assumptions and conclusions.

In July 2001 the United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects adopted a high-profile Programme of Action that helped to galvanize international efforts to curb this scourge during the past year.

As part of the efforts to implement the Programme of Action, my country has taken a number of important steps at the national and regional levels. One such effort is the "guns for money" programme, in which the Zambia Police Service offers up to an equivalent of $55 to all voluntary hand-overs of illegally held arms. The response to this programme has been overwhelming. A large number of illicitly acquired arms have been recovered.

At the regional level, Zambia has continued to be active in the Southern Africa Development Community programme on small arms and light weapons within the framework of the Southern African Regional Police Chief Cooperation Council. This effort, which started in 1995 in response to growing illicit trade and trafficking in small arms and their ammunition, is assisting Governments to coordinate their efforts at the regional level. The continuation of the programme, however, depends on the availability of funds. Zambia would welcome any financial and technical support from the cooperating partners in order to strengthen these efforts.

As you are aware, demobilization and disarmament efforts are currently taking place in Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda. For this process to succeed, the disarmament component should have an effective and attractive arms recovery programme that can prevent combatants from trading their small arms for necessities and encourage them instead to hand them over to the authorized authorities for money. My delegation would like to see increased support to the buy-back and other arms recovery programmes in order to motivate the combatants to surrender to the authorities more of their arms, thus enhancing demobilization and disarmament of the former combatants and their reintegration into social life.

Zambia believes that, as a follow-up to the United Conference on Small Arms and Light Weapons, the adoption of an international instrument to trace illegal trade is imperative. In this regard, Zambia calls for the early conclusion of the work of the Group of Governmental Experts on the issue which met in Geneva last July, under the auspices of the United Nations. It is my Government's hope that the recommendations of the Group will help speed efforts to develop an international instrument that could provide a legal framework to trace the illicit trade around the world in the small arms and light weapons that fuel conflicts in Africa and other developing regions.

Zambia supports all efforts at the regional and subregional levels to ensure strong momentum in the follow-up to the Programme of Action as we prepare for the biennial meeting of States on small arms and light weapons, the first of which is scheduled in 2003. So that many delegations will be able to attend that event, Zambia requests that it be held in New York.

where many of the countries affected by the problem of small arms are represented. In addition, my country wishes to appeal to those countries that made pledges to implement the Programme of Action to make good on their commitments to provide financial and technical assistance and support to the Secretariat in order to facilitate the participation of the least developed countries, many of which are among the hardest hit by the negative impact of small arms and light weapons.

The course and the conduct of inter-State and intra-State wars in Africa clearly indicate that small arms and light weapons are a major cause of political instability. My delegation is concerned that all the global efforts to curb such weapons may not be successful unless the current trend to concentrate attention on officially held arms is checked. There is a need to establish a mechanism that will control private illicit transfers, which account for the bulk of the illicit trade. Such a move would be an effective way of preventing the supply of small arms to non-State actors.

Regional and international initiatives must be encouraged if the fight against small arms is to be successful. My Government is committed to working with the rest of the international community at the regional and international levels. One of the most effective and practical methods of dealing with the problem of the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons is to destroy recovered weapons. Zambia hopes that all Member States can adopt that method because of its demonstrated effective impact on society.

International cooperation can also be encouraged at the level of South-South cooperation. Developing countries can pool their resources and coordinate regional efforts; we should not always look to the North for resources. South-South cooperation driven by common threats and objectives could be very instrumental in curbing the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in all its aspects. In Africa, the effort should be extended to the relevant bodies of civil society in each country, including non-governmental organizations, which could spearhead awareness campaigns. The United Nations, through the Department for Disarmament Affairs and its regional centres, should remain at the forefront of that particular effort. The success of the 2001 Programme of Action depends on multilateral efforts strengthened through greater coordination and cooperation.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the representative of Zambia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Malawi. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Lamba (Malawi): First of all, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. My delegation will support you fully in completing the agenda that you have set. Also, I wish to thank you for convening this, yet another important open debate on the question of small arms and light weapons as they affect global peace and security — particularly in the Western and Great Lakes regions of Africa, where small arms continue to fuel conflicts and instability. Indeed, my own country, Malawi, has not been spared the ghastly consequences of these lethal weapons.

My delegation joins previous speakers in commending the Secretary-General for his informative report (S/2002/1053) and for his sound proposals for moving more concretely towards effective containment of the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons. In the same vein, my delegation calls upon the Security Council and the General Assembly to close ranks with regional and subregional organizations and with other multilateral and civil society organizations to ensure the successful enforcement of previously agreed actions, including the United Nations Programme of Action on small arms and light weapons, in order to stem the rising tide of the illicit trade in these dangerous weapons.

The problem of small arms was first encountered in Malawi in the early 1980s, when the country started to experience an influx of refugees from neighbouring countries where civil wars were raging. Malawi, which has enjoyed relative peace and stability since its independence in 1964, suddenly found itself confronting the infiltration and the use of illegal small arms. That situation led to an increase in criminal activities such as murder, armed robbery and car thefts by armed gangs, most of whom were alien to the country. While the Malawi Government is doing its utmost to keep in check the illicit flow and circulation of small arms, the country — like many others in Africa — continues to be held to ransom by those who

are bent on spreading fear and insecurity, using these destructive weapons for their narrow self-interest.

The proliferation and misuse of small arms has become a global problem and concern that calls for urgent action. While weapons of mass destruction — such as nuclear weapons — exist mostly in the developed world, small arms and light weapons are present and used throughout the world. In most developing countries, it is these latter weapons, more than nuclear weapons, that threaten peace and security. They are easy to acquire. Post-conflict situations often leave behind huge quantities of weapons that end up in unauthorized and dangerous hands.

An urgent and compelling need exists, therefore, for a tough United Nations protocol, for implementation by Member States, to regulate or prohibit the possession and use of small arms. However, no United Nations measure can be effective without the cooperation of supplying nations. Even if a mechanism created through national legislation succeeded in retrieving small arms in circulation, arms manufacturers would have to come under a tough regime of international standards to be established by the United Nations to regulate acquisition and to enhance oversight and accountability. Many guns in developing countries remain unregistered and therefore unregulated.

The proliferation of small arms, which generates violence and socio-economic destabilization, is no doubt a great threat to peace and security, which are the prerequisites for meaningful development in any country. Realizing the menace to Malawi of the effects of small arms, the Government is working closely with other States members of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) to implement a range of measures for monitoring and facilitating cross-border operations within the subregion. That is in line with the SADC protocols on firearms, ammunition and related materials signed by heads of State or Government at the SADC summit held at Blantyre, Malawi, in August 2001.

Malawi reaffirms its support for the outcome of the United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, held in July 2001, and looks forward to more active implementation of the United Nations Programme of Action on small arms and light weapons at the national, regional and global levels.

It is important to develop closer, mutually reinforcing linkages between the Programme of Action on small arms and light weapons and the Secretary-General's broad ranging recommendations presented today, in order to enhance implementation of the Programme of Action and strengthen global vigilance and decisive action against the illicit production and flow of surplus small arms and light weapons.

In response to the widening problem posed by small arms in Malawi, law enforcement agencies have carried out regular surprise operations designed to recover many of these illegal weapons. Furthermore, through the assistance of the donor community, capacity-building programmes for law enforcement agencies, such as the police, customs, border guards, and the armed forces, are being conducted in order to prevent, combat and eradicate the proliferation of these illegal arms. The country is also finalizing the enactment of national legislation for the regulation of small arms and light weapons with a view to containing their ownership and minimizing their wanton and illegal use.

I would like to conclude by pointing out that the problem of illicit arms cuts across borders and no one country is, therefore, insulated from their horrific effects. There is need, therefore, to step up collective efforts and collaboration in the global fight against this scourge. In this connection, my delegation looks forward to a more comprehensive review and monitoring of the performance of the existing measures and the adoption of other far-reaching mechanisms to take into account the Secretary-General's recommendations, which are constructive and call for deeper reflection by all States. Malawi undertakes to play its part in strengthening international resolve and commitment to combat and eradicate the proliferation of small arms through intensified cooperation with the United Nations and all Member States.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the representative of Malawi for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative for Pakistan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): The Pakistan delegation is gratified by your decision to convene this debate on the issue of small arms, an issue which has been a source of major human suffering during the past

decade. We also appreciate the report of the Secretary-General on the subject, which contains many important recommendations.

The post-cold war era has witnessed conflict and strife at levels unprecedented in recent history. The consequences of these armed conflicts were made worse by the easy availability of small arms and light weapons, increasing the intensity of the conflict, causing higher casualties, and making peacekeeping more complicated and risky.

Having participated proudly in several important United Nations peacekeeping operations, Pakistan is fully aware of the complexities arising from the widespread presence of small arms and light weapons in regions where such missions have been conducted. We are also cognizant of the need for sound planning and implementation of strategies regarding de-weaponization and re-integration as part of peacekeeping and peace-building operations.

During the long war against foreign occupation, Afghanistan became a repository of millions of small arms and light weapons. After the Soviet withdrawal, Pakistan became a victim of this proliferation of small arms and light weapons. Realizing the magnitude of this problem, the Government of Pakistan resolved to take strong action to cleanse our society of this menace.

Last year, we therefore updated the Anti-terrorism Act and this year we have banned several organizations, some of whose members were involved in extremist or sectarian violence and terrorism.

We have adopted a comprehensive strategy under which over 150,000 small arms and light weapons have been confiscated or voluntarily surrendered by the possessors of these arms. At the same time, the Government has stopped issuing licences for new weapons, while a ban on the display of weapons has also been imposed and is being implemented vigorously.

We are confident that our efforts will produce good results, cleansing our society of the repercussions of the two decades of conflict in Afghanistan. The kind of national measures that we have undertaken could, we believe, be helpful to several other countries that may find themselves in similar circumstances. We would be happy to share our experiences with other developing countries.

Pakistan applauds and welcomes the several regional initiatives that clearly recognize and seek to address the problem of small arms in all its dimensions, including human security, development, law enforcement, de-weaponization and arms control. It is obvious that only such a comprehensive approach that takes into account socio-economic factors can effectively address the problems associated with small arms and light weapons.

We are happy to note the successful United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, which was held in July last year. The Programme of Action adopted by the Conference may not be perfect, but it is a significant step forward. In our view, efforts must now focus on the implementation of this Programme of Action.

The Secretary-General's report in document S/2002/1053 reviews the comprehensive measures being pursued to control small arms and their adverse impact on society and on peace and security. The report speaks of the "mixed results" achieved by the Security Council's embargoes so far in curbing the flow of small arms and light weapons in conflict areas. We endorse many of the recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's report, including the need for effective enforcement of sanctions.

At the same time, measures to control small arms must, in our view, give priority to a more effective role for the United Nations, and especially for the Security Council, in the resolution of the underlying causes of conflict. The causes of war are, in our view, more important than the instruments of war.

We must also, seek to uphold and implement two principles that were endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolution 50/70B on small arms and have been endorsed subsequently each year. These two principles are the right of States to exercise self-defence in accordance with the Charter, and the right of peoples struggling against foreign occupation to exercise the right to self-determination.

We cannot forget the hundreds of thousands of patriots who made the ultimate sacrifice for the cause of freedom and liberty, which has enabled our nations to be here at the United Nations.

Pakistan honours the 80,000 Kashmiri heroes who have been killed by an occupation army of

700,000 in their decade-long struggle for self-determination. These three elements — peaceful resolution of disputes, the right of self-defence and the right of self-determination — must be appropriately reflected in the recommendations of the Secretary-General and in the debates and considerations of the Security Council in the context of small arms.

The General Assembly has asked the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva to negotiate principles for conventional arms control at the regional and subregional levels, such as the principle of undiminished security of States and elaboration of the concept of sufficiency in armaments. The adoption of such principles can make a useful contribution to specific negotiations for conventional arms control in various regions of the world, including the control of small arms.

Finally, let me add a word on behalf of the delegation of Colombia, which has asked me to inform the members of the Security Council that the non-paper that has been referred to by many delegations was sent to the presidency for circulation as an official Security Council document last night. We understand that it will also be posted on their Web site.

The President (*spoke in French*): I give the floor to the Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, Mr. Jayantha Dhanapala, to respond to the questions posed and comments made at this meeting.

Mr. Dhanapala: The hour is late, and I shall be brief.

Let me begin by thanking all those who participated in this public debate for their very constructive proposals and for advancing the cause of the reduction of small arms and light weapons in the current stage of their proliferation.

I believe that the debate has provided a major impetus to the movement that has begun within the United Nations on the control of the proliferation of small arms and light weapons and in the implementation of the decisions that have been taken.

If I may respond to some of the points that have been raised, the Conventional Arms Register as it exists now is a voluntary transparency measure that is confined to seven categories of conventional weapons; it does not include small arms or light weapons. From time to time a group of experts meets in order to review the operation of this Register, as it will do next year. In that exercise, there will no doubt be consideration given to the possible expansion of the Register to include small arms and light weapons.

With regard to the marking and tracing issue, the recommendation that was included in the Secretary-General's report was intended to encourage the efforts of the group of experts to reach a consensus on this issue, so that we may have progress with regard to a legal instrument on the question of marking and tracing.

The 2003 biennial meeting that was presaged in the Programme of Action adopted at last year's Conference is being prepared carefully, and I know that the Ambassador of Colombia — Ambassador Reyes, who presided over the 2001 meeting — will convene a consultation on 18 October in order to discuss the detailed arrangements for this meeting.

With regard to evaluation missions, the Department for Disarmament Affairs is ready to undertake them, but, again, the subject of resources comes up, and that is why we have appealed for extra-budgetary resources under the small arms advisory service.

Coordination among all programmes, agencies and departments within the United Nations system is undertaken through the Coordinating Action on Small Arms (CASA).

I would also like to reassure those who expressed reservations about the possibility of established priorities in the disarmament agenda being disturbed by the focus on small arms and light weapons. Indeed, this is already taken care of. Preambular paragraph 17 of the Programme of Action states very specifically that we recognize that

> "these efforts are without prejudice to the priorities accorded to nuclear disarmament, weapons of mass destruction and conventional disarmament." (*A/CONF.192/15*)

Many questions were raised about the small arms advisory service that has been proposed in one of the recommendations. The main purpose of this unit is to enhance the effectiveness of CASA, enabling the United Nations better to assist Member States in the implementation of the Programme of Action adopted by the July 2001 Conference. The specific objectives of the small arms advisory service are, first, to ensure optimal coordination and harmonization of the

Organization's activities in the field of small arms; secondly, to ensure that such activities are consistent with, and build upon, the political framework reflected in the Programme of Action; and thirdly, to provide relevant information on small arms and light weapons and other related issues to Member States and all interested entities as appropriate.

It will serve as a permanent secretariat for CASA, providing advisory services to Member States and to United Nations agencies as requested and assisting them in the formulation and implementation of projects, particularly with regard to the conduct of assessment missions and monitoring activities.

The financing of this advisory service will be covered from the United Nations regular budget through the provision of the Chief of Branch, who will supervise the work of the unit, and a P-4 staff member. Other outstanding costs will be covered either through contributions to the Department for Disarmament Affairs' Global and Regional Disarmament Trust Fund or through the provision of associate experts by Member States. The national points of contact will be the primary partner of the small arms advisory service in the task of the collection and circulation of information about the implementation by States of the Programme of Action adopted at last year's Conference.

This will be a two-way street. The national points of contact will send information on national activities to the small arms advisory service, and they will also make requests for assistance, which will be responded to. The service will keep national points of contact informed of developments and activities by other States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations and about the availability of resources and expertise, and provide assistance as requested. We have a detailed document outside this Chamber providing information about the small arms advisory service that is available to all delegations.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank Mr. Dhanapala for the clarifications he has kindly provided.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4624

Security Council

Fifty-seventh year

Provisional

4624th meeting

Monday, 14 October 2002, 7.35 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Belinga-Eboutou	(Cameroon)
Members:	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Guinea	Mr. Traoré
	Ireland	Mr. Corr
	Mauritius	Mr. Koonjul
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Singapore	Ms. Lee
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts.

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

02-63823 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 7.35 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2002/1145, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/2002/1145) before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Bulgaria, Cameroon, China, Colombia, France, Guinea, Ireland, Mauritius, Mexico, Norway, Russian Federation, Singapore, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*spoke in French*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1438 (2002).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 7.40 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4625

Security Council

Fifty-seventh year

Provisional

4625th meeting

Wednesday, 16 October 2002, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Belinga Eboutou	(Cameroon)
Members:	Bulgaria	Mr. Tafrov
	China	Mr. Zhang Yishan
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Guinea	Mr. Traoré
	Ireland	Mr. Ryan
	Mauritius	Mr. Koonjul
	Mexico	Mr. Aguilar Zinser
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Singapore	Ms. Lee
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

Letter dated 10 October 2002 from the Permanent Representative of South Africa to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2002/1132).

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

02-64196 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait

Letter dated 10 October 2002 from the Permanent Representative of South Africa to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2002/1132)

The President (*spoke in French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Albania, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Australia, Bangladesh, Belarus, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Djibouti, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Liechtenstein, Malaysia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, South Africa, Sudan, Switzerland, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, Viet Nam and Yemen, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Aldouri (Iraq) and Mr. Kumalo (South Africa) took seats at the Council table; Mr. Baali (Algeria), Mr. Cappagli (Argentina), Mr. Dauth (Australia), Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh), Mr. de Moura (Brazil), Mr. Heinbecker (Canada), Mr. Valdés (Chile), Mr. Stagno (Costa Rica), Mr. Rodríguez Parrilla (Cuba), Ms. Loj (Denmark), Mr. Aboul Gheit (Egypt), Mr. Nambiar (India), Mr. Hidayat (Indonesia), Mr. Zarif (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Haraguchi (Japan), Mr. Al-Hussein (Jordan), Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait), Mr. Kittikhoun (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Diab (Lebanon), Mr. Dorda (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Wenaweser (Liechtenstein), Mr. Hasmy (Malaysia), Mr. Bennouna (Morocco), Mr. Bhattarai (Nepal), Mr. MacKay (New Zealand), Mr. Mbanefo (Nigeria), Mr. Al-Hinai (Oman), Mr. Akram (Pakistan), Mr. Shobokshi (Saudi Arabia), Mr. Fall (Senegal), Mr. Erwa (Sudan), Mr. Staehelin (Switzerland), Mr. Kasemsarn (Thailand), Mr. Mejdoub (Tunisia), Mr. Pamir (Turkey), Mr. Kuchinsky (Ukraine), Mr. Al-Shamsi (United Arab Emirates), Mr. Nguyen Thanh Chau (Viet Nam) and Mr. Alsaidi (Yemen) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*spoke in French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 15 October 2002 from the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations, which was issued as document S/2002/1147, and which reads as follows:

> "I have the honour to request that, in accordance with its previous practice, the Security Council invite the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations, to participate in the meeting of the Security Council to be held on Wednesday, 16 October 2002, on the situation between Iraq and Kuwait."

I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite the Permanent Observer of Palestine to participate in the current debate in accordance with the provisional rules of procedure and the previous practice in this regard.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite the Permanent Observer of Palestine to take the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 14 October 2002 from the Permanent Representative of the Syrian Arab Republic to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

> "In accordance with article 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, I have the honour to request the participation of His Excellency Mr. Yahya Mahmassani, Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, in the discussion of the agenda item under consideration by the Council on Iraq, which will start on 16 October 2002."

This letter has been published as a document of the Security Council (S/2002/1140).

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Mahmassani.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Mahmassani to take the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

I should like to inform the Council that I have also received a letter dated 15 October 2002 from the Permanent Representative of the Sudan to the United Nations, which reads as follows:

> "In my capacity as Chairman of the Islamic Group, I have the honour to request that Ambassador Mokhtar Lamani, Permanent Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to the United Nations, be allowed to participate in the debate in the Security Council on the item entitled 'The situation between Iraq and Kuwait', in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council."

This letter will be issued as a document of the Security Council (S/2002/1148). If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to His Excellency Mr. Mokhtar Lamani.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Lamani to take the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting today in response to the request contained in a letter dated 10 October 2002 from the Permanent Representative of South Africa to the United Nations (document S/2002/1132).

I welcome the presence in our midst of the Deputy Secretary-General, Ms. Louise Fréchette, whom I invite to take the floor.

Ms. Fréchette: As you know, the Secretary-General very much wished to attend this debate in person, but is unable to do so because of his commitment to visit a number of Member States in Asia this week. He is, however, very anxious to give the Council the benefit of his views on an issue of such great importance. Exceptionally, therefore, he has asked me to read you the following statement on his behalf:

> "I applaud you for holding this open debate on Iraq, and much regret that I cannot be with you in person.
>
> "The situation created by Iraq's failure to comply fully with the resolutions of this Council since 1991 is indeed one of the gravest and most serious facing the international community today.
>
> "It poses a great challenge to this Organization, and in particular to the Security Council. In Article 24 of the Charter, the Member States have conferred primary responsibility on this Council for the maintenance of international peace and security.
>
> "That is a grave responsibility indeed, and it is essential that the Council face up to it.
>
> "But let me add that the situation also presents the United Nations with an opportunity. If we handle this properly, we may actually strengthen international cooperation, the rule of law and the United Nations — enabling it to move forward in an purposeful way, not only in this immediate crisis but in the future as well.
>
> "It is therefore entirely proper that the Council should debate its course of action, not only in private consultations but also only in public, so that Member States not currently serving on the Council may have an opportunity to give their views. For myself, I stated my views on this matter very clearly on 12 September, when I had the honour to address the General Assembly. The Council may recall that on that occasion I said that efforts to obtain Iraq's compliance with the Council's resolutions must continue. I appeal to all who might have influence with Iraq's leaders to impress on them the vital importance of accepting the weapons inspections. I myself urged Iraq to comply with its obligations, for the sake of its own people and for the sake of world order. In his speech in the general debate on the same day, the President of the United States also insisted that Iraq must comply with its obligations under the Council's

resolutions, and a large number of other States joined in that appeal.

"Four days later, I received a letter from the Iraqi Foreign Minister informing me of his Government's decision 'to allow the return of the United Nations weapons inspectors to Iraq without conditions'. Since then, Mr. Hans Blix, Executive Chairman of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) and the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), Mr. Mohammed ElBaradei, met with an Iraqi delegation on 30 September and 1 October to discuss the practical arrangements for the resumption of inspections. Iraq's decision to readmit the inspectors without condition is an important first step, but only a first step.

"Full compliance remains indispensable, and it has not yet happened. Iraq has to comply. It must implement the disarmament programme required by the resolutions of the Council. Weapons inspectors will be returning to Iraq after a four-year absence, under a new structure and new leadership, to verify the implementation of that programme. The inspectors must have unfettered access, and the Council will expect nothing less. It may well choose to pass a new resolution strengthening the inspectors' hands so that there are no weaknesses or ambiguities. I consider that such a step would be appropriate. The new measures must be firm, effective, credible and reasonable. If Iraq fails to make use of this last chance, and if defiance continues, the Council will have to face its responsibilities. In my experience it always does so best and most effectively when its members work in unison.

"Let me therefore conclude by urging the President and his colleagues to make every effort to retain their unity of purpose. If you allow yourselves to be divided, the authority and credibility of the Organization will undoubtedly suffer; but if you act in unison, you will have greater impact and a better chance of achieving your objective, which must be a comprehensive solution that includes the suspension and eventual ending of the sanctions that are causing such hardship for the Iraqi people, as well as the timely implementation of other provisions of your resolutions. If the Council succeeds in this, it will strengthen the United Nations in a way that will place future generations in its debt."

The President (*spoke in French*): I wish to inform members of the Council that I intend to suspend the meeting at 1 p.m. and to resume punctually at 3 p.m. I also wish to point out that at this meeting the Council will first hear from non-members of the Council.

The first speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of South Africa. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kumalo (South Africa): It is always a pleasure to see you preside over the Security Council, Mr. President. We are also pleased that Deputy Secretary-General, Louise Fréchette, has also joined us this morning. We particularly wish to express our appreciation for the Security Council's positive response to our request for an emergency meeting on the situation between Iraq and Kuwait. We are pleased by the decision of the Council to begin this meeting by first hearing the views of the wider United Nations membership.

We come before the Council because we believe that the Council is being asked to consider a matter that has important repercussions for the entire United Nations. According to the Preamble to the Charter, the United Nations was founded with the explicit determination "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". We are here to voice our concerns regarding the possibility that the United Nations is now being asked to consider proposals that open up the possibility of a war against a Member State.

The situation between Iraq and Kuwait must be addressed comprehensively by the United Nations so as to allow the Security Council to lift sanctions against Iraq, which continue to have dire humanitarian consequences. Iraq should comply with the relevant Security Council resolutions, including the provisions relating to the repatriation of all Kuwaiti and third-country nationals and the return of all Kuwaiti property. All Member States are bound by Security Council resolutions, and no Member should be exempted from carrying out obligations as determined by the Council.

We therefore welcome the announcement by the Government of Iraq to allow United Nations weapons inspectors to return without any conditions. We believe

this offers the prospect for a peaceful resolution of this matter. We would urge the Security Council to allow the inspectors to return to Iraq as soon as possible.

We called for this meeting to offer our encouragement to the Security Council to seize this opportunity, which could possibly lead to a lasting peaceful solution to the long-standing matter between Iraq and Kuwait.

During the general debate of the fifty-seventh session of the General Assembly, the Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Movement were seized with the debate on Iraq. They welcomed the decision by the Government of Iraq to allow the unconditional return of weapons inspectors in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions. They further stated that

> "in this regard, we wish to encourage Iraq and the United Nations to intensify their efforts in search of a lasting, just and comprehensive solution to all outstanding issues between them in accordance with the relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions."

The Ministers reaffirmed respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Iraq and Kuwait, in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions. They emphasized the need for a peaceful solution of the issue of Iraq in a way that preserves the authority and credibility of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, as well as peace and stability in the region. The Ministers also reiterated the Non-Aligned Movement's firm rejection of any type of unilateral action against any Member State of the United Nations.

We welcome the agreement of 1 October 2002 between the Government of Iraq, the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) on the practical arrangements necessary for the immediate resumption of inspections, in accordance with the provisions of the relevant Security Council resolutions. The timetable for the return of the inspectors that has been presented to the Security Council by Mr. Hans Blix, Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC, and Mr. ElBaradei, Director General of the IAEA, is also welcomed. It would therefore be inconsistent with the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter if the Security Council were to authorize the use of military force against Iraq at a time when Iraq has indicated its willingness to abide by the Security Council's resolutions.

In our view, the way has now been cleared for the immediate return of the United Nations weapons inspectors to Iraq. We have full confidence that Mr. Blix and the United Nations inspectors will undertake their duties with utmost professionalism. We hope that the Security Council shares our confidence in the abilities and credibility of UNMOVIC and the IAEA in carrying out this task. We urge the Council to allow the United Nations inspectors to return to Iraq to resume their important work without delay. It would be tragic if the Council were to prejudge the work of the inspectors before they set foot in Iraq. There will be enough time for the Council to review the work of the inspectors since Mr. Blix and his team are required to report progress to the Council.

We have followed with interest the public discussion on the elements for a possible resolution on Iraq. It has been brought to our attention that the significant consultations are limited to the permanent members of the Security Council and their capitals. There have even been suggestions that permanent members should be given new and exclusive roles in dealing with the resolution of the Iraqi issue.

It has always been a source of comfort and satisfaction for those of us who are not in the Security Council that there are ten elected members who we chose to represent our views. We believe that these elected members have their own special role to play in the Council's deliberations, because they bring credibility and balance to decision-making within the Council. We are therefore concerned if elected members are excluded from consultations on the most pressing issues before the Council. This is can only lead to the erosion of the authority and legitimacy of the Security Council as a whole.

The Security Council represents our collective security concerns and should ultimately be accountable to the entire United Nations. The maintenance of international peace and security is a core function of the United Nations. Therefore, the Security Council cannot be party to increasing the humanitarian suffering of civilians who are caught up in conflict situations. Nor can the Council allow itself to agree to decisions that will subject and condemn large numbers of innocent civilians to conditions of war in efforts to enforce its resolutions. Through the United Nations

Charter, we adopted a system of collective security, and we now have to act with resolve to protect our rules-based system of international relations. The norms and fundamental principles of international law must be our basis to establish the conditions for peace, justice and human dignity.

The Security Council should ensure that there is consistency in the way it acts to enforce its own decisions and avoid subjectivity and vagueness in its resolutions. The Council should be explicit and clearly define the objectives of its resolutions and set clear, implementable benchmarks for compliance. This would facilitate the efforts by Member States to fully comply with their obligations.

Open-ended sanctions regimes imposed by the Security Council are counterproductive insofar as they exacerbate the humanitarian situation. In Iraq, 11 years of sanctions have brought endless suffering to the ordinary people. We hope that the Security Council will dispatch the inspectors to Iraq as soon as possible and allow the people of Iraq to focus their attention on rebuilding their country.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the representative of South Africa for the kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Iraq, to whom I give the floor.

Mr. Aldouri (Iraq) (*spoke in Arabic*): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to express to you our congratulations on your assumption to the presidency of the Security Council for this month. We are confident that African wisdom will certainly help crown the deliberations of the Council with success under your leadership.

We would also like to express our thanks and gratitude to the friendly State of South Africa for its initiative on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement on requesting the convening of this meeting to give a chance to the Members States of the United Nations to express their views on this matter, which is not only about relations between Iraq and the Security Council, but also about international relations in general. It is also a matter that relates to the capacity of the international community to face up to the American tendency to practice hegemony and aggression, and to stand steadfastly by the principles of the United Nations Charter. We hope that the Security Council will take the views that we will hear today and tomorrow into account.

The deterioration in international relations has reached a point where the American Administration unabashedly declares its plans to invade and occupy Iraq, using military force and even appointing an American governor, therein changing the map of the region by force and putting their hands on the sources of energy there. The United States also wants the Security Council to give it a blank cheque to colonize Iraq, not just Iraq but the entire Arab Mashrq, which it plans to violate as part of its plan to subject the entire world to American hegemony. The United States of America has taken advantage of illegal means of pressure and a tremendous propaganda mechanism to disseminate lies concerning Iraq, one lie after the other, the latest being the pretence that Iraq owns weapons of mass destruction and the alleged threat of such weapons to world security.

I believe that everyone knows that there are no nuclear, chemical or biological weapons of mass destruction in Iraq and that Iraq implemented many years ago the disarmament requirements set out in paragraphs 8 to 13 of resolution 687 (1991). This has been recognized by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), which has declared that there are no pending issues concerning disarmament in Iraq. The United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) also recognized that fact. Ambassador Rolf Ekeus, the former Executive Chairman of UNSCOM, declared on 13 January 1993 that Iraq had implemented 95 per cent of its obligations, an assertion that he repeated in an interview for the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation on 7 September 2002.

I should like to beg the Security Council's indulgence in describing in depth Iraq's implementation of resolution 687 (1991) over the past seven years and seven months. Suffice it to say that 276 inspection teams, made up of a total of 3,845 inspectors, in addition to 80 delegations in the form of special missions, undertook 3,392 visits to Iraqi sites. Among these teams were 94 teams specializing in meetings and interviews, which met for a total of 2,359 hours with 1,378 people connected directly or indirectly with Iraq's previous programmes. There were 192 monitoring teams involving 1,332 inspectors who undertook 10,256 inspection visits to sites subject to the monitoring system, as well as other sites. Although 595 sites were subject to monitoring pursuant

to the mechanism for monitoring Iraqi exports and imports under resolution 1051 (1996), 74 sites were added, including in border and customs areas, harbours, hospitals and health centres.

UNSCOM and IAEA used 140 surveillance cameras at 29 sites and 30 sensors at 23 sites, as well as 1,929 labels on 1,832 facilities and pieces of equipment in monitoring 161 sites. UNSCOM placed 9,026 labels on 99 types of missile with a range of less than seven kilometres. UNSCOM and IAEA also undertook 2,967 helicopter sorties in their work, for a total of 4,480 flight hours. The United States undertook 434 U-2 surveillance sorties for a total of 1,800 flight hours. Iraq submitted 1,744,000 pages of documents to UNSCOM and IAEA, along with a number of videotapes and nine kilometres of microfilm, containing 600,000 pictures and 50,000 microfilm slides.

All of this demonstrates to the Security Council that Iraq has honoured all its requirements, despite the many harmful and insulting practices of the inspection units, including the espionage carried out by the American and British inspectors, in particular, in implementation of the well-known plots and plans devised by the United States to maintain the embargo and to jeopardize Iraqi national security. This was recognized by many inspectors, UNSCOM Executive Chairman Ekeus and the chief United States inspector Scott Ritter among them.

Iraq has consented to all these sacrifices in the hope that its cooperation would lead the Security Council to honour its obligations under resolution 687 (1991). Foremost among those obligations are lifting the comprehensive embargo imposed on Iraq, ensuring respect for Iraq's national security, and addressing the regional security imbalance embodied in Israel's possession of a vast arsenal of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, long-range missiles and their delivery systems. However, when the United States sensed that the pretext of inspections had become an inadequate excuse for maintaining the comprehensive embargo and for repeated American and British aggressions, it asked the inspection team led by Mr. Butler to leave Iraq on 15 December 1998. In other words, the inspectors did not leave because Iraq asked them to, but because Mr. Butler asked them to do so, as instructed by the United States.

One day after the inspectors left Iraq, there was a vast military attack against Iraq, which claimed the lives of hundreds of Iraqi citizens and destroyed several economic and service institutions, including sites that had been under the surveillance and monitoring of UNSCOM and the IAEA.

Following that, the United States dragged the Security Council along a very long and complex path of discussions in order to redraft Council resolutions, impose new conditions on Iraq and set up new inspection committees, believing that the continued absence of inspectors justified continuing the embargo, which would mean that one day the Iraqi people would kneel to the will of the United States.

Thus, the inspectors left Iraq and the overall embargo continued from 6 August 1990, claiming the lives of Iraqi citizens, so much so that the number of embargo victims has reached 1,750,000 Iraqi citizens, as of the end of September of this year.

The embargo continues to represent a moral problem for the United Nations, as described by the Secretary-General. It also is a blatant violation of several provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, such as Article 24, which calls for the Security Council to work in keeping with the purposes and principles of the Charter. It is also a violation of Article 1, paragraph 1, which states that sanctions and other measures adopted for the maintenance of international peace and security should be in keeping with the principles of international law and justice.

The sanctions are a violation of Article 1, paragraph 2 of the Charter, which deals with respect for the principle of equality among peoples — their equal rights and their right to self-determination — since no sanctions should be imposed that will cause international disagreements that are incompatible with the legal rights of the State or that prejudice the people's right to self-determination.

The sanctions are also a violation of Article 1, paragraph 3 of the Charter, which concerns the promotion of and respect for human rights.

The system of sanctions also violates Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter, which does not allow the United Nations to intervene in matters that are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State.

Sanctions also go against Article 55 of the Charter, which calls upon the United Nations to guarantee higher standards of living for all people and to work towards economic and social progress and development. We do not want to dwell at length on the fact that they are also a violation of many other international conventions and instruments on human rights.

All this has been documented by United Nations agencies, humanitarian organizations, human rights organizations and many researchers and writers in this area. The sanctions imposed on Iraq have caused a humanitarian catastrophe comparable to the worst catastrophes that have befallen the world throughout history. The sanctions have claimed the lives of thousands of children, women and elderly people. They constitute genocide by any standard; the number of victims goes far beyond the victims of the use of weapons of mass destruction throughout history.

Parallel to the imposition of the comprehensive embargo, since April of 1991 the United States and Britain have declared two no-fly zones in the south and north of Iraq, in blatant violation of the Charter and the established rules of international law, as well as the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, which have underlined the importance of respecting Iraq's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence.

By imposing those no-fly zones, the United States and Britain have carried out military aggression continuously, killing thousands of Iraqi citizens and destroying property. Those two States are violating daily the resolutions of the Security Council and carrying out continuous aggression against Iraq. The Council has been unable to put an end to such aggression or even to condemn it.

In order to end the impasse in the situation with the Security Council, Iraq took the initiative of opening a dialogue with the Secretary-General, with the aim of achieving full implementation of the obligations contained in resolutions of the Council in a balanced and equitable manner and in accordance with international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

The Iraqi side held four meetings with the Secretary-General which led to some progress but which did not achieve their objective. This was due to pressure by the United States, which prevented the Council from participating in the efforts to seek a comprehensive solution that would deal with all aspects of the relationship between Iraq and the Council while guaranteeing the implementation of all the requirements of the Council's resolutions — I repeat, guaranteeing the implementation of all requirements of the Security Council.

This American position actually means that a comprehensive solution would not serve the aggressive intentions of the United States against Iraq and the region as a whole. That is the very reason which has led the United States to prevent the Security Council from examining the possibility of implementing operative paragraph 6 of the Council's resolution 1382 (2001). This paragraph calls on the Security Council to reach a comprehensive settlement concerning the relationship between Iraq and the Council, including clarification concerning the implementation of resolution 1284 (1999).

In response to the calls and appeals of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, the Arab States and many friendly countries, the Iraqi Government on 16 September 2002 agreed, unconditionally, to the return of United Nations weapons inspectors, in order to dissipate any doubts concerning Iraq's continued possession of weapons of mass destruction, and as a first step towards a solution that would include lifting the overall embargo imposed on Iraq and implementing the other provisions of relevant Security Council resolutions.

In his letter dated 16 September 2002, the Secretary-General conveyed to the President of the Security Council Iraq's agreement and mentioned the following:

> "As I had the honour to mention to the General Assembly a few days ago, this decision by the Government of the Republic of Iraq is the indispensable first step towards an assurance that Iraq no longer possesses weapons of mass destruction and, equally important, towards a comprehensive solution that includes the suspension and eventual ending of the sanctions that are causing such hardship for the Iraqi people and the timely implementation of other provisions of the relevant Security Council resolutions." (*S/2002/1034, p. 1*)

The Iraqi technical delegation held talks in Vienna on 30 September and 1 October 2002 with delegations from the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) under the chairmanship of Mr. Hans Blix and Mr. Mohamed ElBaradei. Both delegations agreed on arrangements for the return of the weapons inspectors and chose 19 October 2002 as the date when the first UNMOVIC team would reach Baghdad.

The Iraqi delegation, in the course of that meeting submitted the semi-annual reports concerning the sites that are subject to monitoring, and that had not been monitored since the inspectors left Iraq four years ago. These reports show Iraq fully respects its obligations pursuant to Security Council resolution 687 (1991), despite the absence of the monitoring and inspection teams. Bear in mind that these developments clearly reflect the wishes of Iraq and the United Nations and their readiness to begin confidence-building measures and pave the way for the Security Council to implement its own obligations.

In spite of these developments the United States of America has tried to hamper such agreements by increasing its threats against Iraq, appearing before the Security Council in order to obtain the blank check needed to carry out its aggression and by calling for the imposition of unfair, impossible and arbitrary conditions on Iraq. These conditions are, at the least, an insult to the international community, the United Nations and international law and constitute a return to the law of the jungle.

The war hysteria that seems to have hit the current American Government is fed by hatred and by a desire to settle old accounts and impose its hegemony on the world politically, militarily, and economically. The United States is not interested in the implementation of the Security Council resolutions, for the United States of America is the main ally of Israel, which has refused to implement more than twenty-eight Security Council resolutions and scores of General Assembly resolutions that have called on Israel to withdraw from occupied Arab territories and to allow Palestinian refugees to return to their homes. The United States of America has been providing Israel with state-of-the-art weapons to kill the heroic Palestinian people and destroy their property.

This aggressive American hysteria has nothing to do with ending the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in the world, for the United States of America possesses the largest arsenal of weapons of mass destruction and has a longer history of using these weapons against people, starting with Hiroshima and Nagasaki, then Viet Nam and most recently by using depleted uranium against Iraq and Yugoslavia. The United States is the country that revoked the Anti-ballistic Missile Treaty. It unilaterally hampered the implementation of paragraph 14 of Security Council resolution 687 (1991) which calls for making the Middle East a zone free of weapons of mass destruction.

Allow me to mention, as an example, a statement of the former Director-General of the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, Mr. José Bustani, published in Le Monde Diplomatique in July of this year, where he stated:

> "From the very beginning we were faced with difficulty when the Americans refused to allow the members of the organization to carry out their inspections. Very often the inspectors could not enter the laboratories so we remained unable to ascertain that they were actually producing chemical material for peaceful purposes only. It was very difficult for us to examine the samples, for it was not possible to carry out such an inspection, except in the American laboratories. In the final analysis, we had no guarantee as to the validity of the results. At every inspection operation the Americans were trying to change the rules of the game."

We call on the international community loudly to voice their objections to the aggressive designs of the United States of America against Iraq, in order to prevent it from using the Security Council as a tool to carry out its policy of aggression. Not to speak out in the face of these attempts would have serious repercussions on international peace and security, for this would be the beginning of the end of the collective security system as set out in the Charter of the United Nations and of all other instruments, agreements and conventions governing international relations. The key principles underpinning all of these include resorting first to peaceful means in the settlement of conflicts, refraining from the use of force, or the threat thereof, and from violating the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, respecting equal

sovereignty among States Members of the United Nations; and following a policy of non-intervention in matters that fall under the jurisdiction of a given State. This hegemonistic attitude will claim many victims if we do not bridle it.

Today we must urgently reject Washington's attempts to hinder the return of the inspectors. It is doing so even though Iraq has taken all the necessary practical measures and arrangements and paved the way for the return of the inspectors and made the necessary preparations for them to carry out their work easily.

Iraq has pledged to cooperate with the inspectors in every possible way so as to facilitate their task of ascertaining that there are no weapons of mass destruction in Iraq.

There is therefore absolutely no need for the adoption a new Security Council resolution. The attempts being made by the United States of America to hamper and delay the return of the inspectors and to make the Security Council adopt a new resolution laying down conditions that are impossible to respect are but a pretext for aggression against Iraq. The goal of that aggression is the colonization of our country and the imposition of American domination over our oil, as a first step towards the imposition of American colonialism in the region as a whole and the control of its oil and towards allowing Israel to continue its genocidal war against the Palestinian people and its aggression against the Arab countries.

The United States of America does not want the inspectors to return, because if they do there will be proof that the Americans have consistently lied and made false allegations. At that point the Security Council would have to lift the unjust embargo against Iraq, ensure respect for its national and regional security concerns, and implement of the other requirements set out in Council resolutions; and that is exactly what the United States of America does not want.

Finally, we are confident that, now that Iraq has expressed its readiness before the Security Council unconditionally to receive the inspectors, the States Members of the United Nations will defend its decisions, just as all peoples have done in rejecting the American war of aggression.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of Kuwait. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Abulhasan (Kuwait) (*spoke in Arabic*): My delegation is pleased to see you, Sir, presiding over the Security Council during the current month. We are confident that your skills and experience will ensure a successful stewardship. We wish also to thank your predecessor, Stefan Tafrov of Bulgaria, for his able leadership of the Council last month.

The Security Council is debating today the current situation between Iraq and the United Nations against the sombre backdrop of ominous precursors of an imminent war in one of the most sensitive and strategic regions of the world, which would have a direct impact on the crucial lifelines of the world economy and subsequently on global stability.

The debate has taken on even greater significance in view of the complex and difficult situation of the international community as it endeavours to channel substantial energies and resources to the combat against terrorism and to identify its underlying causes, uproot it and resolve any problems that might be perceived as justifications or pretexts for the commission of such heinous crimes.

In the face of this common threat, the world must be united in its goals, in shouldering its responsibilities and in taking action. This should be done only within the framework of the United Nations system, because unilateral actions taken as a result of being in a position of power could prove, down the road, as ineffective as a reluctance to pitch in due to weakness. Truly effective and meaningful action should therefore be driven by a sense of our common destiny in the face of a threat that is blind to nationality, religion, race and culture.

This, perhaps, explains the overwhelming international support for the statement made by the Secretary-General when on 12 September last he introduced his annual report on the work of the Organization at the beginning of the General Assembly's general debate. In that introduction, he stressed the need to strengthen collective action to ensure respect for international law and to abide by the legality of the United Nations in confronting any threat to international peace and security.

The President of the United States of America, speaking on the same day and from the same rostrum, stated that the United Nations should take on that obligation. That position can be considered as an endorsement of joint international action within the framework of the United Nations, which must characterize any approach to issues relating to international peace and security.

Kuwait feels very strongly that any action taken must be taken within the United Nations legal framework. Without such a framework, Kuwait would probably not have been liberated from Iraqi occupation early in 1991. Furthermore, the issues that emerged as a result of that occupation, and which are still unresolved with regard to Iraq, would not have assumed such great international significance.

In this respect, my delegation supports the convening of this open debate in the Security Council. Indeed, we consider it as further evidence that the current situation with regard to Iraq must be resolved between Iraq and the United Nations, not between Iraq and any particular country or group of countries.

Over the past few months the Security Council has been involved in intensive efforts to find a peaceful solution to the current crisis, which arose as a result of the rejection by Iraq of resolution 1284 (1999) by blocking the return of United Nations weapons inspectors to Iraq. That position prompted the international community to insist that the United Nations continue to play its essential role and that the Security Council's credibility be reaffirmed through the implementation of its relevant resolutions, as required by the Charter.

Kuwait hopes that the current international momentum can be maintained so as to ensure that Iraq fully implements all relevant resolutions. The unity of the Security Council is essential; without it, the message from the Council will not reach Iraq with full force and the Council will not achieve its true objective — full compliance with the relevant resolutions. Only such compliance will ensure peace and security throughout the region and allow the dark clouds of war that are looming on the horizon to dissipate.

I would like to sum up the position of the State of Kuwait regarding the current situation. First, we welcome the steps taken by the Iraqi Government to readmit United Nations weapons inspectors without restrictions or conditions. My Government considers that to be a move in the right direction.

Second, we consider that full compliance by the Government of Iraq with all the operational procedures, rules, controls and requirements set out by the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission to ensure an effective and fruitful inspection process within the time frame that has been set out to be the only yardstick for evaluating Iraq's seriousness and credibility with regard to the unconditional and unfettered readmission of the inspectors.

Third, ever since the early clouds of war began to gather as a result of Iraq's persistent rejection of the return of inspectors, Kuwait has declared that it was not in favour of the use of military force against Iraq because we feared serious negative consequences that would exacerbate the suffering and hardship of the brotherly people of Iraq, who have already endured so much.

We in Kuwait are very sensitive to the suffering of the Iraqi people. That is why we have called on the Government of Iraq time and again to save the people of Iraq from their grave situation by fully implementing all relevant Security Council resolutions without selectivity or procrastination, and by putting the welfare of the people ahead of all other narrow interests.

Fourth, force must be used only as a last resort after all other available means have been exhausted, and must be within the United Nations legal framework. The Kuwaiti position is completely in line with those of the Gulf Cooperation Council, the Arab Summit that took place at Beirut last March and the ministerial meeting of the League of Arab States, held at Cairo last September. All of those forums rejected the use of military force outside the United Nations framework against any Arab State, especially Iraq, as well as any measures that might jeopardize Iraq's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Fifth, Kuwait maintains that the Secretary-General's 1998 concept of diplomacy backed by force aimed at ensuring the necessary compliance with Security Council resolutions has been shown to be valid once again in the context of seeking a peaceful solution to the Iraqi question.

Ongoing efforts to ensure compliance by Iraq with the provisions of relevant Security Council resolutions relating to Iraq should not be confined to the question of the return of inspectors to Iraq and the elimination of weapons of mass destruction. Despite the paramount importance of that matter, it is still only one of the major obligations that Iraq must fulfil. Iraq has other key obligations, including some that relate directly to my country, Kuwait, most importantly the question of Kuwaiti prisoners of war and third country nationals held in Iraq. Those obligations are set forth in Security Council resolutions 686 (1991), 687 (1991) and 1284 (1999), all of which require Iraq to cooperate fully with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in order to ensure a speedy resolution of the matter.

Regrettably, since 1998 the Iraqi Government has been boycotting the meetings of the Tripartite Commission, chaired by the ICRC and charged with accounting for those innocent victims. All of the worthy efforts of the Secretary-General and his High-Level Coordinator on this issue, Ambassador Yuli Vorontsov, as well as the repeated calls made by the Council after every four-month periodic review of the Coordinator's reports, have thus far been in vain.

Here, I would like to emphasize that no one else can comprehend the intransigence of the Iraqi position regarding this purely humanitarian issue, which should not have been allowed to drag on for the past 12 years.

The Government of Iraq has been attempting to justify its non-participation in the Tripartite Commission, despite the fact that Iraq was one of the States signatories to the Riyadh Agreement of 1991, and despite the fact that such participation was set forth as a specific obligation in section B of resolution 1284 (1999). Iraq's argument for refusing to sit down with the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom is that those two countries launched military attacks against it in 1998 and that there are no dossiers on any nationals from those two States.

Following Iraq's acceptance of the unconditional and unrestricted return of inspectors, my delegation wonders how Iraq can seek to bar individuals of any nationality from participating in the inspection teams. Would the Council permit such exclusions? I am confident that the Council will not condone such a position. Also, I am sure that the Government of Iraq will not make such a request. Following that line of reasoning, how could the Government of Iraq refuse to cooperate with the Tripartite Commission because of the involvement of nationals from certain States, while allowing those same States to participate in the inspection operations?

Regarding the argument that there are no dossiers on nationals from either the United Kingdom or the United States, I wonder how Iraq can accept inspectors of all nationalities, individuals who have the required technical qualifications and experience in the area of weapons of mass destruction, while the same criteria of technical qualifications and knowledge of the military operations to liberate Kuwait are not applied in the case of the missing persons issue. Both United States and United Kingdom forces were major parties in the war to liberate Kuwait. Therefore, those two countries are quite familiar with all the events during that difficult period. In fact, that is all the more reason why those two countries should participate in the meetings of the Tripartite Commission.

We demand that Iraq respond with regard to this issue in order to resolve it once and for all. We expect Iraq to give concrete demonstration of the good intentions it expressed at the Beirut Arab Summit when it pledged to find a quick and definitive solution to the question of Kuwaiti and third country prisoners and hostages. To that end, we are awaiting Iraq's participation in the coming meetings of the Tripartite Commission on 24 October in Geneva under the chairmanship of the International Committee of the Red Cross. Iraq must abandon its worn-out pretexts and justifications, which are totally unacceptable in form and content.

The question of Kuwaiti and third country detainees in Iraq is not a bilateral issue between Kuwait and Iraq. Nor is the issue suited to be considered by a regional organization, as the Government of Iraq currently seeks to have done. Rather it is an issue of international commitment, as stressed in a number of Security Council resolutions. The Council has been seized of this matter from the very beginning and has been holding consultations on the issue once every four months. Kuwait takes this opportunity to call on the international community and the Council to maintain pressure on Iraq to persuade it that its cooperation in resolving this issue should arise from explicit political will and not from a sense of fear that will dissipate as soon as threats of the use of force are dropped.

I request that the Council ensure that the question of Kuwaiti and third country prisoners held in Iraq be a key element in any Council resolution adopted on the current situation between Iraq and the United Nations. Indeed, this is the most propitious time to break the deadlock on this humanitarian question. The Security Council and the United Nations system cannot be true to themselves unless they honour their commitments, demonstrate respect for human rights and address human suffering effectively. In that context, we expect the Council to give as much attention to the suffering endured by the people of Kuwait since 1990 as it devotes to saving the region from the evils and horrors of weapons of mass destruction. For, in the end, all efforts of the United Nations system, and the Council in particular, aim at protecting human life, human dignity, families and communities. That function constitutes the first step towards global security and stability.

In closing, let me reiterate Kuwait's clear position. We invite the Government of Iraq to heed the appeals of the international community and all nations in our area, especially those in the Gulf region, and to make every possible effort in a spirit of sincerity to comply with all relevant Security Council resolutions. Furthermore, Iraq should strictly abide by the will of the international community, represented by the Council, in order to avoid a war and its consequences and the additional suffering that it will cause the brotherly people of Iraq. Such a war will certainly affect all citizens of the region, who aspire to live in peace and tranquillity and to devote all their energy towards meeting economic, social and cultural challenges.

All of us should live up to our responsibilities and acquire wisdom and far-sightedness. God entrusted us with the present and all its potential in order to build the future with all its requirements. Without peace, we shall not be able to use the present for our own sake, nor can we ensure the future for our children.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the representative of Kuwait for his kind words addressed to me. The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Yemen. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Alsaidi (Yemen) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, we would like to thank the delegation of South Africa for requesting an open meeting of the Council on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement. It is not without significance that this meeting is convened following a request from the current chair of the Non-Aligned Movement, which encompasses the majority of the world's nations in an association whose only purpose is its declared aspiration to achieve security and well-being for all peoples of the world.

It is not an overstatement to say that peoples' eyes are fixed on this Chamber in the hope that signals of peace will be heard rather than omens of war and destruction. Above all, it is the Arab peoples who continue to yearn for an end to external interventions that persist in the shadow of the long tragedy of the Palestinian people. It seems that this issue has not merited the attention of the members of this Council, despite the scenes of Israeli terrorism and the trail of destruction and killing left in its wake, as projected by the mass media before the eyes of the international community and people all over the world.

In spite of the numerous of areas of conflict and the gravity of situations in many areas of the world today, the Security Council has put the question of its relationship with Iraq as a top priority, ahead of all others. Certainly, no one can deny the great importance the Council attaches to this issue. It primarily affects security and stability in our region and relations among its member States.

However, confining discussion to the parameters of military intervention merely to seek justification for the intervention, while at the same time ruling out all other options that could ensure Iraq's compliance with Security Council resolutions, completely contravenes the sense of responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. This will remain a bone of contention and will not achieve unanimity, or even consensus, which constitutes the sole basis for initiating military action on behalf of the international community.

We have seen how Iraq responded to Arab and international political pressures. We have heard Iraq's recent announcement that it would re-admit the United Nations weapons inspectors so they could resume their mission without restrictions or conditions. In fact, Iraq went further in allowing inspectors to have access to presidential palaces for this purpose. This in itself is proof of the positive impact of such pressure. If efforts are coordinated and guided well by this Council, they

will bear fruit and save the region and the world from war, the consequences of which only God knows.

For our part, the question is quite clear and needs no complications. Many peaceful ways and means could be found to compel the Iraqi Government to positive cooperation by implementing Security Council resolutions if some countries abandoned the logic of force and did not restrict their thinking to war as the only option. It is only rational that the Council should adopt the views of wise people and historical experience. Foremost among such wise people are Presidents Nelson Mandela and Jimmy Carter, who called for renouncing the option of war and for giving peace a chance.

Like many others, we do not concur with those who call for the use of a pre-emptive strike as the only way for eliminating Iraq's ability to produce weapons of mass destruction and to launch aggressive acts against others in the future. Launching war against others solely on the basis of reading their intentions would open the door wide to explode hotbeds of tension and wars whose roots had been lying dormant. Undoubtedly, in many cases resorting to force illustrates a shortcoming more than it provides evidence of the sensibility and rationality of the decision to use force. Military intervention by coalition States against Iraq was justified in 1991, but the measures taken over a 10-year period after that to implement relevant Security Council resolutions, including the sanctions system, resulted only in humanitarian tragedy suffered by the Iraqi people, tragedies that multiply day after day. The current calls for military action present another admission of the failure of those measures and a consideration of the same error.

The Republic of Yemen, which rejects any military action against Iraq, believes that it is not wise for the Council to adopt new resolutions that would complicate the issue and would not contribute in any way to the achievement of a satisfactory solution.

The Republic of Yemen feels that Iraq's invasion of Kuwait represented a threat to regional and international peace and security, but at the end of that invasion Iraq pledged to respect the sovereignty and independence of the State of Kuwait and gave its commitment to implement all relevant Security Council resolutions. In our view, this does not provide any justification for any new military action against Iraq. The Republic of Yemen expresses its grave concern over the current approach to invade Iraq, with all the military mobilization and political alliances that are being shaped in earnest. This constitutes a direct threat to the security and stability of our region.

Yemen adheres to the collective Arab position that rejects any invasion of Iraq and urges instead all parties to demonstrate positive cooperation and to give the United Nations weapons inspectors a chance to fulfil their task, without any attempt to affect the completion of their mission — that is, ensuring the full and simultaneous implementation of all requirements of relevant Security Council resolutions.

Yemen hopes that the reconciliation that took place at the recent Arab Summit in Beirut will lead to implementation of the Summit's resolutions which regard the resolution of the question of Kuwaiti prisoners and detainees as being primarily a humanitarian issue, in addition to being an essential step that would contribute to confidence-building and that would be a demonstration of good faith towards the restoration of normal and brotherly relations between the brothers in Kuwait and Iraq.

An Arab proverb says: the people of Mecca know their ravines better than anybody else. We would say that the States of the region, which are threatened by the expansionist ambitions of Israel, share the view that the Israeli arsenal of weapons of mass destruction represents the real and direct threat to Arab security, especially under the constant threats made by successive Israeli Governments.

We wonder how anyone could be convinced that the right approach is to intervene militarily in Iraq in order to dismantle its weapons of mass destruction, given that Iraq has asserted that it has no such weapons and has, in fact, welcomed the return of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission. That approach is even more questionable when one considers that Israel is continuing to produce and stockpile weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear weapons, without any deterrent action or accountability.

We trust in the wisdom and sense of responsibility of the Council. We also wish to highlight the historical importance of Security Council resolutions on this subject in the light of the long-term implications for security and stability in the region, so

particular, and for the future of international relations, in general.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Baali (Algeria) (*spoke in French*): First of all, I would like to express my pleasure and confidence at seeing you, Mr. President, presiding over the work of the Council at this very delicate moment in international relations. I know that your experience, abilities and fine human qualities will be severely tested during the next two weeks. I am convinced, however, that the Council will make the best use of your capabilities in order to carry its work in the interests of peace, security and justice throughout the world. I would also like to pay well-deserved tribute to Ambassador Stefan Tafrov of Bulgaria, who very competently presided over the Council's work last month. Lastly, I would like to convey my appreciation to the Secretary-General for the clear message delivered by Ms. Fréchette on his behalf. I would also like to express my support for the approach he has suggested and for the role he would like to see the Security Council play in resolving the issue under consideration.

Before commenting on the subject of our meeting today, I would like, on behalf of the Government of Algeria, to express my profound grief to those in Indonesia and elsewhere who have been cruelly struck in body and soul by the cowardly and horrific terrorist attack in Bali. I convey to them my condolences and my sympathy. This attack has brutally reminded us that terrorism is indeed a global challenge and that it must be confronted collectively and in solidarity. Terrorism is a very real and formidable threat that can materialize at any time. No one is totally immune from it, and no one can act alone to combat it. The war against terrorism is a fight on all fronts that requires continuous and unfailing vigilance and mobilization. Today more than ever before, the United Nations must continue to devote all its attention and energy to it.

Like the rest of the international community, Algeria has followed with great concern the developments of the last few months regarding Iraq. We can therefore only be concerned at the grave dangers that a new conflict in Iraq would pose to regional and international peace and security.

Iraq demonstrated realism, wisdom and a sense of responsibility when, on 16 September, it accepted the unconditional return of United Nations inspectors to its territory. The same holds true for the agreement it reached with the Organization at Vienna in early October concerning the conditions for the return, work and stay of the inspectors. All of us were therefore pleased with this important development, which appeared to make it possible to close the book on the subject of weapons of mass destruction once and for all. The total elimination of those weapons is what the Security Council has been calling for.

We also thought that these developments would have made it possible for us to avoid the spectre of war. We had hoped that these decisions by Iraq, which have been the culmination of friendly and timely efforts by a number of peace-loving and justice-loving countries — particularly Arab countries — as well as by countries committed to the incontrovertible role of the United Nations in the settlement of international disputes, would have led to the prompt return of inspectors, a speedy resumption of inspections and, within a reasonable time frame, the much-hoped-for lifting of sanctions, which have taken a heavy toll on the people of Iraq. We had also hoped that that they would have helped to bring about peace and security in Iraq, in strict compliance with its sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity.

Despite those positive developments, the threat of armed conflict nevertheless continues to weigh on the region. That threat is also causing major fears about the very grave consequences that such a conflict would have in Iraq itself, as well as in other countries of the region. Those fears are especially legitimate and justified given the fact that, in that same part of the world, Israel, intoxicated with its military might and, unfortunately, guaranteed impunity, is launching an all-out war against the Palestinian civilian population and on the infrastructure and symbols of the Palestinian Authority. Israel is continuing to occupy and colonize Palestinian and Arab territories, to threaten to bring down its wrath upon neighbouring countries and to violate the most basic rules of international humanitarian law.

In addition to its catastrophic impact on the people of Iraq — who for over 10 years have been subjected to largely inhumane sanctions — and the impact it would have on the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country, a military operation

against Iraq — let there be no doubt — would also have very grave consequences on the peace process in the Middle East, which is already moribund, as well as on the Israeli-Arab conflict itself. This already battered region of the world could well experience paroxysms of unpredictable gravity and magnitude.

In this connection, the international community expects that the Council, if it wishes to maintain its authority and credibility — which have been severely tested by repeated Israeli intransigence — will first assume all of its responsibilities vis-à-vis the Palestinian people and demonstrate its determination and firmness with regard to all those who reject and show contempt for its resolutions. Contempt is unfortunately exactly what Israel had shown when the Council adopted resolution 1435 (2002), regarding the situation in the occupied territories. The Security Council must, in short, be consistent and fair. It should meticulously ensure compliance with its resolutions in every instance.

With regard to the specific question of Iraq, Algeria holds out the hope that the issue of weapons of mass destruction will be resolved in a responsible and peaceful way and in accordance with the principles of international law and the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The earliest possible return of inspectors and the resumption of the inspections mission seem to us to be sufficient to meet the requirements of the Council and of the international community with regard to the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction in Iraq and, we hope, in every country of this very volatile part of the world.

Iraq has made a clear and unambiguous commitment to cooperate fully with the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) and the international community should give them a chance to do so. At the same time, we would expect that Iraq would scrupulously respect its commitments and all of its obligations. If it turns out that UNMOVIC inspectors have been prevented from doing their job and if their chief or the Executive Director of the International Atomic Energy Agency can establish that in a sure and irrefutable way and so notify the Security Council, only then should the Council decide on a position to adopt in the face of such a situation.

It is Algeria's hope that the Security Council — which has a daunting mandate of watching over the preservation of international peace and security and which is thus the central pillar of the collective security system established at the end of the second world war and therefore the only body authorized to decide on recourse to force — will be able to assume its responsibilities in keeping with the provisions of the Charter and international legality, so that Iraq and the entire Middle East will be spared the scourge of war.

At the Beirut Summit, which cemented reconciliation between Kuwait and Iraq, we called on the parties to work to resolve their outstanding disputes. And during the last session of the Council of Ministers of the League of Arab States, the Arab States said that they were firmly opposed to any military operation against any Arab State. It is therefore our most fervent hope that this position will be duly taken into account during the Council's deliberations and that for a logic of war which is developing today we substitute a momentum for peace in the obvious interest of all people of the Middle East, and for peace and security in the region and throughout the world.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the representative of Algeria for his kind words.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Egypt. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Aboul Gheit (Egypt) (*spoke in Arabic*): Today, as we meet to consider the situation in Iraq, it is imperative to recognize that the issue before us concerns not only the future of Iraq, its territorial integrity and independence, or even the dire humanitarian situation of the Iraqi people, but also the direct implications of the issue on the entire Middle East.

Our meeting today has set out to consider the Security Council resolutions relating to Iraq and to determine how much progress has been made in their implementation. There is no doubt in our mind that significant progress has been achieved in implementing the disarmament provisions of these resolutions during eight years of inspections, something to which the periodic reports produced by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the Special Commission until mid-1998 bear witness.

After a hiatus of approximately four years in the arms inspections, Iraq took the initiative of resuming dialogue with the Secretary-General with a view to

resolving the outstanding issues that stood in the way of resumption of inspections and to completing the remaining tasks. Iraq also accepted Security Council resolution 1284 (1999) and the idea of cooperating with United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC). We all followed closely the outcome of the trilateral discussions conducted in Vienna between Iraq, UNMOVIC and the IAEA that resolvedly indicated a maximum degree of cooperation with regard to the return of inspectors. This commitment to full cooperation was affirmed in the correspondence between Iraq and the Secretary-General, as well as with the Executive Chairman of UNMOVIC.

The situation therefore indicates a positive momentum based on the mutual goodwill of the parties towards implementing Security Council resolutions relating to proscribed Iraqi military activities and the speedy return of inspectors to Iraq. This is the focus and objective of Security Council concern, and attention should be directed towards the prompt resumption of inspections in Iraq pursuant to relevant Council resolutions in order to complete the mandate established by those resolutions, particularly resolution 687 (1991) and 1284 (1999). It is our hope therefore that all parties concerned will cooperate in order to ensure meticulous, rapid and unimpeded implementation of these tasks.

While Egypt urges Iraq to work seriously towards full implementation of all Security Council resolutions, we also stress the need for the utmost integrity and professionalism in future inspection activities of UNMOVIC, with adherence to the letter and spirit of all the resolutions. It is therefore essential that UNMOVIC move rapidly towards fulfilling the tasks entrusted to it in an atmosphere of calm and constructive cooperation in order to ensure the destruction of prohibited weapons of mass destruction, if their existence is ascertained.

In this context, the Security Council must remain fully aware that the efforts to destroy this proscribed Iraqi potential, if it exists, are a step towards a broader objective, namely the establishment in the Middle East of a zone free of weapons of mass destruction, as outlined in paragraph 14 of resolution 687 (1991) and reaffirmed in resolution 1284 (1999). These efforts need to be undertaken within the framework of a comprehensive approach to the question of Iraq by the Security Council as provided for in resolution 1284 (1999) and the terms of reference in that resolution. The aim would be to achieve progress towards lifting the sanctions imposed on Iraq while ensuring full respect for its sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence.

In this regard, I also wish to recall the statement issued by the Arab Summit held in Beirut seven months ago and Iraq's commitments to fulfil it obligations under relevant Security Council resolutions concerning Kuwaiti prisoners of war and missing persons, or those of third countries, and the return of Kuwaiti property. We accordingly encourage Iraq to cooperate with the United Nations High-level Coordinator responsible for this issue and urge the Iraqi Government to implement scrupulously its obligations in order to assist in settling this issue with the same speed that we hope to see in progress on disarmament and the lifting of sanctions. At the same time, we expect all parties to fulfil their obligations, thereby enhancing international legitimacy and permitting the Security Council to fulfil its unique role in accordance with the Charter.

The Security Council's mandate to preserve international peace and security on behalf of all members of the international community is a responsibility that must be fulfilled with the utmost credibility and without discrimination or double standards. We trust that the members of the Security Council will discharge their responsibility in a sincere and objective manner, bearing in mind that the convening of this formal session to consider an issue that is of the utmost gravity and sensitivity is in itself an important step towards averting an armed confrontation whose many casualties will be innocent civilians and that will undermine development and reconstruction efforts.

In conclusion, Egypt affirms the importance of Iraq's full and strict implementation of all relevant Security Council resolutions in order to steer us away from the path of military confrontation. We also stress and draw attention to the common responsibility that we all bear as Members of the United Nations, an Organization that was established to preserve peace and security for the mutual benefit and preservation of all rights of all members of the international community.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Pakistan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): The issue before us today is not unfamiliar to the Security Council; it has indeed been a hardy perennial of its agenda for two decades. The Security Council has adopted several resolutions under the agenda item "Situation between Iraq and Kuwait". These resolutions include 686 (1991), calling on Iraq to accept liability under international law in regard to Kuwaiti and third country nationals and to return all Kuwaiti property; 687 (1991), deciding that Iraq shall not acquire nuclear weapons and that it shall unconditionally accept the destruction and removal of all chemical and biological weapons and ballistic missiles of more than 150 kilometres in range; and 1284 (1999), deciding to send the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) to Iraq for weapons inspection.

Article 25 of the United Nations Charter states:

> "The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter".

This Article imposes a clear-cut obligation on Member States to implement the decisions of the Security Council without conditions. The implementation of Security Council resolutions is essential to upholding the credibility of the United Nations. We urge Iraq to cooperate with the Security Council and with the concerned countries and international agencies and to implement these Security Council resolutions in conformity with Article 25.

Security Council resolutions should be implemented through measures and modalities which are consistent with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and international law. These measures include the provisions of Chapter VI of the Charter providing for mediation, conciliation, arbitration and other methods for agreed and cooperative implementation. We commend the Secretary-General and involved agencies, including the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the United Nations oil-for-food programme, for their tireless and sincere efforts to secure the implementation of the Security Council resolutions relevant to their respective mandates.

Most of the resolutions relating to Iraq have been adopted under Chapter VII of the Charter and therefore contain the implicit and even explicit implication that enforcement action could be taken by the United Nations, as envisaged in Article 42 of the Charter, to secure compliance with its resolutions. Clearly, such enforcement action has been an option, in particular with regard to securing compliance with Security Council resolution 687 (1991) dealing with Iraqi disarmament of weapons of mass destruction. However, enforcement action involving the collective use of force has been and must remain an option of last resort, not the first policy choice. We therefore greatly admired the intervention of Secretary-General Kofi Annan in 1998 to personally negotiate arrangements with Iraq which averted the use of force. It is unfortunate that these were not fully implemented.

Notwithstanding the precedents of the past, any decision involving the use of collective force to secure implementation of Security Council decisions has such grave and serious implications that there must remain no doubt in anyone's mind that it has been clearly and expressly authorized by the Security Council. Article 42 does not provide the authority to one or more Member States to resort to force unilaterally and on their own judgement, independently of the Security Council or without its explicit approval.

A grave responsibility, therefore, rests on the Security Council today, when it has been challenged to secure the enforcement of its own resolutions relating to Iraq. In taking these decisions, Pakistan trusts that all the members of the Security Council will remain cognizant of their responsibility, in particular, to adhere strictly to the principles and relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter.

A first responsibility is to ensure that all possibilities for the peaceful resolution of the problem have been visibly exhausted. In this context, due note should be taken of Iraq's declaration that it will comply with its obligations under the Security Council resolutions; of its Foreign Minister's letter of 16 September accepting weapons inspections "without conditions"; of the arrangements with UNMOVIC and IAEA worked out in Vienna as outlined in Mr. Blix's letter of 8 October to his Iraqi interlocutor; and of the two letters of 10 and 12 October from the Iraqi side confirming the acceptance of these arrangements. We trust that these arrangements and understandings will be observed and implemented in letter and spirit.

Pakistan, like most Members of the United Nations, supports the full and faithful implementation of the Security Council resolutions relating to Iraq. At the same time, we are concerned that international and regional peace and security be preserved and strengthened, and not destabilized. We are especially concerned about the implications for peace, security and stability in the Middle East and in the Islamic world.

We are concerned that Iraq's sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity be respected and preserved; that the suffering of the people of Iraq be ameliorated and not exacerbated, including through the early lifting of United Nations sanctions.

We are concerned that those States which are occupying of foreign territories and suppressing the right of peoples to self-determination not be further encouraged in their aggressive policies, such as in the case of Israeli occupation of Palestinian and Arab territories, and India's occupation of Jammu and Kashmir.

We are concerned that the global economy and the economies of the States of the region not be damaged.

We believe that these concerns are shared by all the members of the Security Council. Therefore, confident that the decisions they will adopt will not only adhere to the principles of the Charter and international law but also be responsive to the wider concerns of the world community as reflected in the voices of common people everywhere appealing for a peaceful resolution of the problems relating to the implementation of these Security Council resolutions relating to Iraq.

Pakistan is confident that the United Nations will succeed in responding to the challenge to establish its relevance and credibility. It is essential, however, that the credibility of the United Nations be established not only in the case of Iraq but also in other instances Security Council resolutions remain to be implemented or are being flouted, such as in Jammu and Kashmir.

We live in new times today, when globalization is pressing together nations and peoples who remain divided by asymmetric prosperity and asymmetric power. In these conditions, global order can be preserved only if the great Powers possess the wisdom to respect international law and the principles of the United Nations Charter. If great Powers respect international law, even if they feel they need not, smaller States will realize that they must do so.

Almost a hundred years ago, Joseph Chamberlain is reported to have said: "The day of small nations has long passed. The day of empires has come." With 191 sovereign States now Members of this United Nations, no one should be seduced by similar prognostications today. The alternative to an international order based on law and equity is a Hobbesian world of chaos and conflict, war and terror, poverty and pestilence, which surely no one is prepared to contemplate.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of the United Arab Emirates. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and make his statement.

Mr. Al-Shamsi (United Arab Emirates) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset and on behalf of the delegation of the United Arab Emirates, I would like to congratulate you, Sir, on your election as President of the Council for this month, wishing you every success in leading its activities. I would also like to seize this opportunity to thank your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of Bulgaria, for his valuable efforts, which certainly contributed to the success of the work of the Council last month.

The holding of this open formal session on the question of Iraq reflects the growing concern of the international community in view of developments related to this important and sensitive issue that unfortunately has not found an appropriate solution in the past 12 years.

As for the relation between Iraq and the Security Council, it has become obvious today, more than ever before, that the gap separating the two sides is increasing, particularly with regard to the interpretation of the articles of resolutions relevant to disarmament of weapons of mass destruction and their implementation. Of course, this increases the tension and affects the political and security situation in the region and deeply affects the economic, social and development conditions of the countries and peoples of the region, as well as international peace and security as a whole.

As far as the humanitarian condition of the Iraqi people is concerned, the periodic reports issued by the Secretary-General and other international humanitarian organizations, such as UNICEF, FAO and WHO, and

other human rights organizations clearly indicate that the living conditions of the Iraqi people are deteriorating constantly, particularly the increase in the mortality rates among children and women because of malnutrition and deteriorating medical care. All this goes to prove that the oil-for-food programme has not been adequate in fulfilling the basic and urgent human needs of the Iraqi people.

Moreover, this also reflects the fact that stalled efforts to reach a settlement between Iraq and Kuwait constitute one of the main reasons for the continuing tension in the region.

The United Arab Emirates has, on all occasions, encouraged the adoption of peaceful means and ways to address this issue and is thus profoundly concerned about the danger of escalation leading to war in the region. We believe that more than ever before it is incumbent upon the international community, particularly the United Nations, to assume their legal and political responsibilities and to promote the preventive diplomacy which the Secretary-General has more than once called for in order to avoid a third war in the region, with its nefarious consequences.

We would like to reiterate that we welcome the recent initiative of Iraq calling for the UNMOVIC inspectors and the IAEA experts to visit Iraq unconditionally. We also welcome the recent Vienna agreement on the arrangements for immediate resumption of the mandate of the inspectors. We call upon the Security Council and the influential members therein to urgently and unconditionally respond to this positive Iraqi initiative bearing in mind Iraq's concerns about the repetition of mistakes which were committed by UNSCOM in the past. This is, in fact, a first step towards Iraq's full commitment to comply with its legal obligations in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions. In this context we would like to emphasize the following important issues: first, the urgent need to reach a peaceful, just, comprehensive and final settlement of all pending issues relating to the agenda item concerning the situation between Kuwait and Iraq, a settlement based upon the principle of transparency without a double standard in order to maintain the prestige and credibility of the Security Council in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the provisions of international law.

Secondly, we would like to insure implementation of all provisions of Security Council resolutions calling for respect for the sovereignty of Iraq, its territorial integrity and non-interference in its internal affairs. We also reject all forms of escalation and confrontation that might lead to a military strike against Iraq and cause destruction of the people of Iraq and the Gulf, as well as the entire region.

Thirdly, we demand that the Iraqi Government immediately implement its obligations and commitments as stipulated in Security Council resolutions and by Arab League summit meetings, of which the latest, the Beirut Summit, called for full cooperation in order to solve the problem of Kuwaiti prisoners and detainees and nationals of third countries, and the restoration of Kuwaiti property detained by Iraq since 1990. In this context, we also affirm the importance of Iraq's respect for the territorial sovereignty of Kuwait and non-interference in its internal affairs.

Fourthly, we call for a positive response to efforts calling for the immediate lifting of the international sanctions imposed on the people of Iraq in order to alleviate the tremendous suffering of the Iraqi people that has resulted in the death of 1.7 million of its people. We also call for assistance for Iraq to reconstruct its infrastructure and its basic service sectors.

Fifthly, we must ensure that paragraph 14 of Security Council resolution 687 (1991) apply to all countries of the region and not to be limited only to Iraq. This requires that the international community call on the Government of Israel, just as it is calling on Iraq to destroy its arsenal of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and to subject all its nuclear facilities to the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) as a first step towards establishing a zone free of all types of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East.

In conclusion, we hope that this debate on the question of Iraq will lead to a positive and effective consensus, an agreement to find a just, comprehensive and objective solution to this issue, which, in our opinion, will definitely contribute to containing the existing tension in the region and will assist in strengthening international peace and security and enhancing confidence-building and cooperation among the countries of the region.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker is the representative of Jordan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Al-Hussein (Jordan) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset allow me to congratulate you on assuming the presidency of the Security Council for this month, and wish you all success in fulfilling the task entrusted to you. I would also like to thank the previous president, the Permanent Representative of Bulgaria, His Excellency Ambassador Stefan Tafrov for the efforts he made during his presidency of the Council.

At the end of World War II, our Organization was established in an endeavour to save future generations from the scourge of war through the maintenance of justice, respect for international law and the promotion of basic human rights. The United Nations took it upon itself to maintain international peace and security by resorting to collective measures to prevent and remove threats to peace and to bring about, by peaceful means when possible and in accordance with the principles of justice and international law, the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

Those purposes and guidelines are relevant to the current situation, which threatens the exhaustion of peaceful means in dealing with the Iraqi issue. As such, the Jordanian Government is of the opinion that all Member States of the United Nations should work towards achieving a solution through peaceful means and should avoid acts that would breach that peace and make the situation in the Middle East even more critical. This alone compels the Security Council to assume its responsibilities as provided for in the United Nations Charter, including paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article 24. It is, therefore, the responsibility of the Security Council to use all available and reasonable means to resolve the Iraqi issue and settle it through continuous dialogue and negotiations.

In this connection, the Jordanian Government would like to reiterate its position that the implementation of Security Council resolutions is an obligation on all States, without exception, including the Security Council's resolutions on the Middle East, whether they were adopted with regard to Iraq or to the occupied Palestinian territories.

It is the opinion of the Jordanian Government that a peaceful exit out of the current crisis requires Iraq to fully implement relevant Security Council resolutions, including those related to inspection operations. In this regard, the Jordanian Government again welcomes the decision of Iraq to allow the inspectors to return without conditions, as mentioned in the letter from the Foreign Minister of Iraq to the United Nations Secretary-General dated 16 September 2002.

It further welcomes the understandings reached earlier this month in Vienna on practical arrangements for the return of inspectors. The Jordanian Government hopes that the resumption of inspection operations will be the right step towards a comprehensive solution that encompasses the implementation of relevant Security Council resolutions, including those relating to Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti prisoners of war and missing persons and those of third countries.

This in turn must lead to an end to the long-lasting suffering of the Iraqi people, so that they can live in prosperity and dignity and so that Iraq's future generations can live in peace and security.

Finally, the Jordanian Government hopes that the Security Council will deal with the Iraqi question in a prudent and responsible manner that respects the purposes and principles of the Charter. It further appeals to all States to abide by their obligations and to act within the framework of the Security Council, its relevant resolutions and international law.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the representative of Jordan for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Haraguchi (Japan): Mr. President, let me express my thanks to you very much for convening today's open meeting.

The general debate of the fifty-seventh session of the General Assembly last month proved to be a notable opportunity to renew international momentum to address the issue of Iraq. In their statements, many leaders said that they saw the Government of Iraq's non-compliance with Security Council resolutions as a matter of grave concern to the entire world. They emphasized the importance of maintaining the unity of the international community and of resolving this issue through the United Nations.

In his statement before the General Assembly, Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi stressed that Iraq must comply with all the relevant Security Council resolutions; that the international community should continue to work together and engage more strenuously in diplomatic efforts through the United Nations; and that it must pursue the adoption of necessary and appropriate Security Council resolutions as soon as possible.

In response to international appeals, including those made at the United Nations, the Government of Iraq announced that it would allow the return of United Nations weapons inspectors without conditions. Also, in their consultations in Vienna earlier this month, the Government of Iraq, the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) basically agreed upon the practical arrangements for implementing the inspections based on the existing resolutions. These developments could be regarded as the first steps towards resolving the issue of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. However, I have to emphasize that what is most important is that immediate, unconditional and unrestricted inspections actually be conducted in Iraq; that Iraq comply with all the relevant Security Council resolutions; and that there be no doubt whatsoever about the elimination of its weapons of mass destruction.

I would like to take this opportunity to comment on a number of points which the Government of Japan regards as important in the international community's efforts to address this issue.

First, in view of past experience regarding Iraq's acceptance of inspections, it is essential that the international community remain resolute and put maximum pressure on the Iraqi Government in order to make it comply with the resolutions.

Secondly, this should be considered not as an issue of Iraq versus certain countries, but as one facing the international community as a whole. Preserving international solidarity is thus key to resolving this issue.

Thirdly, the ability of the United Nations to act effectively has implications for the very credibility of this Organization and could have a decisive effect on international solidarity. Member States should therefore pursue ways to address this issue through the United Nations, and it is essential that the United Nations, in turn, function effectively.

Fourthly, any doubts regarding the existence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq should be completely dispelled, and to that end effective and credible inspections must be guaranteed. This is also important from the viewpoint of maintaining confidence in the international non-proliferation regime with regard to weapons of mass destruction. The Government of Japan supports the strengthening of the inspection regime necessary to ensure effective and credible inspections, including unfettered access to the presidential sites. We also support Mr. Hans Blix's steady and correct approach, and we will continue to cooperate with the activities of UNMOVIC under his leadership.

Last but not least, in dealing with this issue, it is indispensable to bear in mind the importance of paying serious attention to the interests and concerns of surrounding countries and of ensuring the stability of the region.

The attention of the international community with regard to this issue is now focused on the discussion of a new Security Council resolution. The Government of Japan hopes that the Security Council, which is entrusted with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, will bear in mind the points I have just made, conduct its consultations seriously and expeditiously, and adopt a resolution that is both necessary and appropriate.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the representative of Japan for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Tunisia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Mejdoub (Tunisia) (*spoke in French*): Mr. President, allow me to convey to you our most sincere thanks for having acceded to the request of the Non-Aligned Movement that this open meeting of the Security Council be convened to consider the Iraq crisis. All signs had indicated that this issue was going to be resolved peacefully, in keeping with the norms of international law, relevant Council resolutions and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. But now we see that it has resurfaced in a way that threatens to plunge the world into crisis.

Indeed, the world is heading towards a serious crisis, and, if we are not careful, we shall be entering a period of terrible turmoil. Terrorism struck on 11 September 2001, and its evil deeds are spreading, as the recent carnage in Bali attests. The tragedy continues in Palestine, fighting goes on in Afghanistan, the world economy is in a dire state, and now there is talk of a new front — a fresh war in Iraq.

It is hardly surprising, then, that the entire world is mobilizing; that Member States are engaging in a debate in an open meeting of the Security Council; and that those present here should hear directly what millions of people — including some of our longstanding Anglo-American friends — are telling our Governments: that there should not be an attack on Iraq and that there should not be a war, because such a war would be pointless.

I say that it would be pointless because its motivation is not well-founded. Mr. Brent Scowcroft, National Security Advisor to the first President George Bush, wrote recently:

(*spoke in English*)

> "There is scant evidence to tie Iraq to terrorist organizations, and even less to the September 11 attacks".

(*spoke in French*)

That statement was often cited in the democratic debate in the United States Senate on 10 October, which we followed.

Such a war would be pointless because United Nations inspectors have been expected in Baghdad to carry out their tasks since 17 September, as Iraq has agreed to receive them immediately and unconditionally. A formal agreement to that effect was reached on 1 October in Vienna between the International Atomic Energy Agency and Hans Blix on the one hand, and an Iraqi delegation on the other.

Advocating an automatic recourse to force, thus prejudging the outcome of inspections, is unacceptable; we must not lose sight of the fact that it has not yet been established that Iraq possesses weapons of mass destruction. Rather than embarking on a spiral path that leads inexorably to confrontation and war, we should be facilitating the immediate return of the inspectors, whose job it is to dispel any doubts surrounding this issue by fully carrying out the mandate entrusted to them by all relevant Council resolutions.

Such a war would be pointless from the Arab standpoint. The Iraqi question — an Arab issue — has entered a new phase. In March 2002, following the active diplomacy of Crown Prince Abdullah, the Arab countries, inspired by wisdom and in a constructive peacemaking spirit, came together at the Beirut Summit to cement reconciliation among all the countries of the region. Iraq undertook to respect the independence, sovereignty, security and territorial integrity of the State of Kuwait — those were the very words to come out of the summit — and to settle all humanitarian questions still outstanding between the two nations.

I remind the Council that the Beirut Summit unanimously and firmly opposed any attack against Iraq and took the view that any threat to the security and integrity of one Arab State was a threat to the national security of all Arab States". The Beirut Summit also demanded that the independence, sovereignty, security, national unity and territorial integrity of Iraq be respected and that the sanctions imposed on it be lifted in order to put an end to the suffering of the Iraqi people with a view to securing stability and security in the region.

In September, the idea of a war became even more pointless because the consensus was expanded, thanks to the goodwill, positive attitude and constructive approach of the Iraqi side. The Arab Group, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organization of the Islamic Conference welcomed Iraq's unconditional acceptance of the return of inspectors, thereby providing an opportunity for the problem to be resolved by diplomatic and peaceful means.

Such a war would also be harmful because it would trigger an avalanche of reactions and counter-reactions in Iraq and in the region as a whole. It would upset the balance in several ways. It would provide certain extremists with a pretext for expanding the war still further.

Such a war would be damaging because it would be likely to undermine the campaign against terrorism — a campaign that the international community has been painstakingly organizing, on the basis of a multilateral network, since the adoption of resolution 1373 (2001). Why risk creating the fracture in the alliance against terrorism that many experts have

predicted and perhaps jeopardizing the commitments that have been undertaken by those involved in that alliance?

Such a war would be an affront to the Arab world, which during the Beirut Summit rejected any attack directed against Iraq.

How then, should we handle this crisis? First of all, we must put an end to the war-mongering hysteria. To some extent, President Bush gave a sign of hope by stating that war was not inevitable. Other speakers have made the same point, including Senator John Warner, who stated that the resolution under consideration in Congress was not a blank cheque, but rather a deterrent.

We must therefore reconstruct multilateralism and place our trust in the good sense of the international community. In a striking book, Joseph S. Nye, Dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, wrote:

(*spoke in English*)

> "Teddy Roosevelt advised that we should speak softly but carry a big stick. Now that we have the stick we need to pay more attention to the first part of his admonition, and we need not just to speak more softly but to listen more carefully."

(*spoke in French*)

It is no offence to our friends to tell them to listen to the international community and act with the Security Council.

The Arab Group had expressed the hope that there would be no new draft resolution. Such a draft would now be pointless, as it would arrive half way through the process, when the inspectors are already prepared to return to Iraq to carry out their mission. However if — God forbid — a resolution were to be adopted by the Council, it should be devoid of any bellicose dimension that might lead to a new unilateralist concept of the settlement of international disputes. In this respect, the French approach might be of assistance to the Council, as might the statement presented on behalf of the Secretary-General this morning.

We must also ensure that the great Powers, as much if not more so than the young countries, show respect for international law, if only to set an example. An ill-advised act of force would undermine all the principles of the United Nations Charter: respect for sovereignty, sovereign equality, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, as well as the prohibition of the use of force.

We believe that the Council, as the sole guarantor of peace and international security, today has a weighty historic responsibility in two respects. First, it owes it to itself to dispel all the doubts regarding the credibility of the Organization and prove that the world's affairs are not managed according to a double standard. The Council's second responsibility is to remain vigilant in order to avoid providing a sort of legal cover for unilateral tendencies or creating dangerous precedents that could turn out to be disastrous if they were ever transposed and applied in the resolution of other conflicts and to other areas of tension throughout the world.

As do all other peace-loving countries, Tunisia, which is known for its moderation, supports the call of the United Nations Secretary-General and other world leaders for restraint and for exploring all diplomatic channels in the search for a peaceful solution and to spare the Iraqi people further suffering.

We believe that the dialogue between the United Nations and Iraq remains the ideal forum for resolving all unsettled problems. In that regard, we reiterate our satisfaction at Iraq's decision to accept the unconditional return — I repeat, the unconditional return — of the inspectors, which constitutes, as the Secretary-General indicated at the beginning of the session of the General Assembly, a step towards détente in the region and the lifting of sanctions.

In that context, Tunisia reaffirms its attachment to the Arab position of opposing all strikes against an Arab State, while calling for the prevention of further suffering and harm to the Iraqi people and for the need to preserve Iraq's national integrity, its sovereignty and its territorial unity.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the representative of Tunisia for his kind words addressed to me.

It is now 1.05 p.m. As I announced at the beginning of the meeting, I shall suspend the meeting now. The Council will resume its consideration of the item on its agenda at 3 p.m.

The meeting was suspended at 1.05 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4625/Corr.1

Security Council

Fifty-seventh year

Provisional

4625th meeting

Wednesday, 16 October 2002, 10 a.m.

New York

Corrigendum

Page 24, first column, second full paragraph, second line

For put an end to the war-mongering hysteria *read* put an end to the war psychosis.

02-64515 (E)